Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection

VOLUME 3 ◆ PART 2

Basil I to Nicephorus III
867–1081

Philip Grierson

DUMBARTON OAKS
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DUMBARTON OAKS CATALOGUES

BYZANTINE COINS

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CATALOGUE

OF THE BYZANTINE COINS

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Edited by

ALFRED R. BELLINGER and PHILIP GRIERSON

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection

Washington, D.C.

VOLUME THREE

LEO III TO NICEPHORUS III

717—1081

BY

PHILIP GRIERSON

Part 2

BASIL I TO NICEPHORUS III

(867—1081)

Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection

Washington, D.C.

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REFERENCES CITED IN ABBREVIATION

BNC	*Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque nationale*, by C. Morrisson, 2 vols. (Paris, 1970)
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CNI	*Corpus Nummorum Italicorum*
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris, 1907–53)
Daremberg-Saglio	Daremberg, C. V. and Saglio, E. *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, 5 vols. in 9 (Paris, 1877–1919)
DOC	*Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection.* I. *From Anastasius I to Maurice (491–602)*, by A. R. Bellinger (Washington, D.C., 1966); II. *From Phocas to Theodosius III (602–717)*, by P. Grierson (1968)
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
HBN	*Hamburger Beiträge zur Numismatik*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JIAN	*Journal international d'archéologie numismatique*
Mansi, *Concilia*	Mansi, J. D. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols. in 58 (Paris-Leipzig, 1901–27, reprint)

MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
Migne, *PG*	Migne, J. P. *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series graeco-latina*, 161 vols. in 166 (Paris, 1857–66)
MN	*Museum Notes* (American Numismatic Society)
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
N. Circ.	Spink's *Numismatic Circular*
NNM	Numismatic Notes and Monographs (American Numismatic Society)
NZ	*Numismatische Zeitschrift*
PW	Pauly, A. F. von. *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa et al. (Stuttgart, 1893 ff.)
R.	Ratto, R. *Monnaies byzantines* (Sale Catalogue, Lugano, 9. xii. 30)
RBN	*Revue belge de numismatique*
RIN	*Rivista italiana di numismatica*
RN	*Revue numismatique*
Sabatier	Sabatier, J. *Description générale des monnaies byzantines* (Paris, 1862)
SCN	*Studii şi cercetări de numismatică*
T.	Tolstoi, J. *Monnaies byzantines* (St. Petersburg, 1912–14)
VV	*Vizantiiskii Vremennik*
W.	Wroth, W. *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* (London, 1908)
ZfN	*Zeitschrift für Numismatik*

CATALOGUE OF COINS

(continued)

BASIL I the Macedonian

24 September 867 – 29 August 886

Formally from 26 May 866

Colleagues: Constantine (November 867/February 868 – 3 September 879)
Leo VI (from 6 January 870)
Alexander (from September/November 879)

Background and Chronology

Basil's independent reign[1] began on 24 September 867, the morning of the murder of Michael III, when the Prefect of the City was charged with the delicate task of informing a startled public that Basil was now sole emperor. The dynasty which he founded endured for nearly two centuries. If Byzantine successes during this period owed much to the members of other great families—Romanus I Lecapenus, Nicephorus II Phocas, John I Zimisces—who linked themselves by marriage to the Macedonian house, Basil's own achievements, especially in view of his background, cannot be overlooked. His usurpation was precipitated by a lively fear of being set aside through a whim of his capricious benefactor, but it coincided with the public interest, for a prolongation of Michael III's reign could only have been disastrous for the Empire. Basil took his responsibilities seriously and proved in almost every respect an admirable sovereign. He died on 29 August 886,[2] after a reign of nearly twenty years, as a result of a hunting accident.

Basil's three sons Constantine, Leo (VI), and Alexander were at various times associated with him on the throne, a fourth son, Stephen, being reserved for an ecclesiastical career. His relationship to them is important for an understanding of the coinage, and indeed for an understanding of much else in his reign, for, while he detested Leo, he was devoted to Constantine. He was rendered almost inconsolable by the latter's early death, and, as Ostrogorsky has observed, passed the last years of his life in a state of deep mental depression.

[1] Besides the classic work of A. Vogt, *Basile Ier* (Paris, 1908), it is necessary for the chronological details to consult a number of articles: N. Adontz, "La portée historique de l'oraison funèbre de Basile Ier par son fils Léon VI le Sage," *Byzantion*, 8 (1933), 501–33; V. Grumel, "Notes de chronologie byzantine: I. La date de naissance de Léon VI le Sage," *Echos d'Orient*, 35 (1936), 331–3; A. Vogt, "La jeunesse de Léon VI le Sage," *Revue historique*, 174 (1934), 389–428; R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Chronological Accuracy of the 'Logothete' for the Years A.D. 867–913," *DOP*, 19 (1965), 89–112.

[2] The day is given by the *De ceremoniis*, ii. 52 (Bonn ed., I. 780).

Basil was married twice, first to a certain Maria and subsequently to the beautiful and attractive Eudocia Ingerina, mistress of Michael III. Constantine and Leo were born before his accession, while Michael was still alive; Alexander was born later, probably in 870. His parentage was therefore not in doubt, but it was widely believed that Leo was Eudocia's son by Michael, a belief probably shared by Basil and Leo themselves. Constantine, who was his father's favorite, is described by the chroniclers of the time as the son of Eudocia, but modern scholars, from Ducange onward, have usually taken the view that he must have been the offspring of Basil's first marriage. It may be doubted if this is correct. The only arguments in its favor consist of assumptions regarding the boy's age. Since he was old enough to accompany his father on a military expedition in 877, and is described as being "in the flower of his youth" in 879, he must, it is argued, have been born *c.*859 or even earlier, before Basil can have had any relations with Eudocia. But while the identity of a man's father, in the circumstances of the Byzantine court at that time, might well have been difficult to determine, the identity of his mother is not likely to have been in doubt. Further, even with the precedent of Martina and Heraclius Constantine, it seems unlikely that Constantine and Eudocia would have been shown side by side on one issue of Basil's solidi if Constantine had not actually been her son. The difference in Basil's attitude to the two boys may have been in part due to the belief that Constantine was his own son and Leo was Michael's, though how he came to be satisfied on this point, whether by Constantine's likeness to himself or in some other fashion, we cannot hope to determine.

The dating of the various "reigns" of Basil's sons has for long been uncertain, but now seems in the main to have been satisfactorily settled.

(1) Constantine was crowned emperor between 5 November 867 and 12 February 868, the limiting dates being established by the date formulae of the eighth and ninth sessions of the fourth Council of Constantinople, which were held two years later on these two days respectively.[3] There is no positive evidence for the ceremony having taken place at Epiphany (6 January), the date given by most modern authorities, though this would have provided a suitable occasion and was the date chosen subsequently for the coronation of Leo VI. The year 869, which is found in all modern works, is incorrect. Constantine died on 3 September 879. The terms of a papal letter of 16 August 879 and the emendation of its address on its arrival at Constantinople show that his death occurred between August and November,[4] and the precise day is given by the Synaxarion of the Great Church.[5]

(2) Leo was associated emperor on 6 January 870, between the eighth and ninth sessions of the fourth Council of Constantinople. The precise date is noted by Anastasius,

[3] Mansi, *Concilia*, XVI. 134, 143, these being from Anastasius' contemporary translation. The Greek epitome confirms Anastasius' figure for the ninth session (*ibid.*, 389), but gives only an incomplete date formula for the eighth (*ibid.*, 381), as indeed for all earlier sessions except the first and the sixth (*ibid.*, 309, 344). Anastasius' dating of all the sessions is complete and consistent save for the first, where the Greek text is correct and he is wrong (*ibid.*, 17–18). Cf. Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, IV. 486, note 1.

[4] See below, p. 476 and note 13.

[5] F. Halkin, "Trois dates historiques précisées grace au Synaxaire," *Byzantion*, 24 (1954), 14–17.

who was present, in a scholion attached to his Latin version of the acts.[6] Leo was then a child of three, having been born on 19 September 866.[7]

(3) Alexander was born on 23 November, perhaps in 870,[8] and was crowned in 879, but the exact day is unknown. It was before mid-November, since the acclamations which closed the first session of the Photian Council of 879/80 are addressed to Basil, Leo, and Alexander.[9] It is usually assumed that it was later than 3 September, the date of Constantine's death, since after this event the emperor, in doubt regarding Leo's parentage, might well have wished to associate Alexander as co-emperor and thus bestow a share in the succession on a person whom he was sure was his son. In favor of this are the imperial miniatures in the famous Paris manuscript of Gregory of Nazianzus (MS Gr. 510). These include one of Basil and another of Eudocia and her sons Leo and Alexander, qualified as δεσπότης and ἀδελφός respectively,[10] but none of Constantine. Alexander, despite the absence of the title *despotes*, must by that time have already been made emperor, for his costume and insignia are identical with those of Leo—the fact that he is described only as "brother" is irrelevant—and the absence of Constantine is only explicable on the assumption that he was dead. Although one miniature is missing and it is clear that their present order is incorrect,[11] they cannot be rearranged in such a fashion as to make the Basil–Constantine–Eudocia sequence one would expect if Constantine were still alive. Also in favor of a date later than 3 September is the existence of semisses and tremisses in the names of Basil, Leo, and Alexander. Since these denominations were by now purely ceremonial in character, issued in very small numbers on special occasions, it is difficult to avoid the supposition that they were struck to celebrate Alexander's coronation. Once again, since Constantine is not included, it can be taken as certain that he was dead.

[6] Mansi, *Concilia*, XVI. 143. Leo's name duly appears in the acts of the ninth session, on 12 February (*ibid.*, 143, 389).

[7] The date is given as 1 September of the 15th indiction, i.e., 1 September 866, by George Monachus (Bonn ed., 835) and related sources. The indiction must be correct, for the chronicler's account of the attendant ceremonies show that the birth occurred between Basil's coronation (26 May 866) and Michael III's death. The alternative year, 864, proposed by Vogt, is based on his incorrect assumption that Leo VI's funeral oration was delivered in 886, instead of in 888. As for the day, 1 September must have been an early miscopying for 19 September, for a speech of Leo at the dedication of a church to St. Thomas refers to its being made on his birthday, since he did not wish to wait for the Saint's feast day (6 October), and the *Synaxarion* gives the date of the dedication as the 19th. See Grumel's "Notes de chronologie byzantine" (above, p. 473, note 1).

[8] Pseudo-Symeon, Bonn ed., 690. The day is likely to be correct, but the years in this chronicle are not reliable.

[9] Mansi, *Concilia*, XVII. 393. The first session is undated, but it was before 17 November, when the second session was held.

[10] H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1929), Pls. XVI, XIX.

[11] S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris Gr. 510 . . .," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 198. She suggests that the final missing miniature may have shown the Virgin seated, to balance the opening miniature of a seated Christ. One of the full-page ornamental crosses has replaced one of Basil, of which a substantial part is still visible, but the bearded face is too old ever to have represented Constantine and it would in any case be in the wrong place. Nor, from its position, can the present "Basil" cross have originally been intended for Constantine.

Against this view there are the divergent addresses of the Latin and Greek forms of the letter of 16 August 879 from Pope John VIII to Basil which has been already referred to.[12] The Latin version, in the form in which we have it, is addressed to the emperors Basil, Constantine, and Alexander; the Greek translation, made when it arrived in Constantinople in November, has instead Basil, Leo, and Alexander. The combination of emperors given in the Latin version is impossible, and a widely received explanation of the divergence is that it originally read Basil–Constantine–Leo–Alexander, but that Leo's name was accidentally dropped by the Latin copyist and Constantine's was deleted from the Greek translation because he was dead when the letter arrived.[13] It is equally possible, however, that the original was correctly addressed to Basil, Constantine, and Leo, but that a subsequent copyist, having heard of Constantine's death and Alexander's coronation, inadvertently substituted Alexander's for Leo's name instead of for Constantine's. A dubious interpretation of a papal letter cannot outweigh the positive evidence of the coinage and the Paris miniature that Alexander was crowned after Constantine's death.

Two other dates in the reign require discussion, since they are relevant to the coinage. One is that of the death of the Empress Eudocia. This occurred just after the marriage of Leo VI to his first wife, Theophano, in 882, for we are told that as a consequence the young empress had to take over the ceremonial duties at court which Eudocia had previously performed.[14] The second is that of Leo's imprisonment on the grave charge of having conspired against Basil. The sources describe this variously as having lasted three months or three years, but there can be no doubt that the latter is correct and that Leo's disgrace lasted from 883 to 886.[15] There is no reason to believe, however, that he was formally deprived of his imperial title.

Coinage

Basil's coins, which are for the most part common, saw a number of innovations. The most important, occurring on the bulk of his gold, was the use of a seated figure of Christ as the obverse type, replacing the bust of Christ of the solidi of Michael III. It was, in one form or another, to provide the predominant obverse type of the solidus for the next half century and inspire the name by which these coins came to be known (*senzata*).[16] Another novelty was the standing figure of the emperor on his solidi of Class I, something

[12] *MGH, Epist. karol. aevi*, V. 167 (both texts).

[13] So W. Fischer, "Zu 'Leo und Alexander als Mitkaiser von Byzanz,'" *BZ*, 5 (1896), 137–9.

[14] *Vita S. Theophan.*, c. 11 (ed. E. Kurtz, "Zwei griechische Texte über die Hl. Theophano," *Zapiski Imp. Akad. Nauk*[8], 3. ii [St. Petersburg, 1898], 7). Vogt, "La jeunesse de Léon VI," 415–16, dated the marriage to the winter of 881/2, perhaps Christmas Day, but Jenkins has pointed out that the Logothete recorded it *after* the defeat of Procopius in Sicily, which is known to have occurred in 882; so it is better placed in this year ("The Chronological Accuracy of the 'Logothete,'" 101, note 46).

[15] Vogt, "La jeunesse de Léon VI," 420–3, follows the continuator of George Monachus in reading three months and dates the imprisonment April – 20 July 886, Leo being released on St. Elijah's day. Jenkins, *art. cit.* (above, p. 473, note 1), 101–3, shows that there is independent evidence for its having begun in 883, which bears out the reading of three *years* given in MS Vindobon, hist. Gr. 37, and in the source used by the fourteenth-century historian Nicephorus Gregoras.

[16] Above, p. 46.

that had not been seen since the time of Justinian II. No less novel are the seated figures on two classes of folles. Two figures on a square-backed throne had last been used on the hexagrams of Heraclius, while a single figure on a lyre-backed throne had no precedents at all. Such types were evidently very much to Basil's taste, for we know that his bedroom in the palace was decorated with a gold mosaic representing "the Autocrator and his wife Eudocia on their throne, wearing imperial mantles (στολαῖς βασιλικαῖς) and adorned with crowns," while their sons, also wearing mantles and crowns, were depicted around the room "like glittering stars."[17] The awkward three-figure types of Classes 3 and 4 of his folles were perhaps inspired by ceremonial solidi of Theophilus. The patriarchal cross and the labarum, which figure prominently on the coinage, also look back to Theophilus. So does the use of an inscription in several lines as the regular reverse pattern of the follis, though the form of it is changed and it is now modeled on that of the miliaresion. It was probably during his reign that the loros was redesigned, the old form being supplemented by a much simpler garment that did not involve the elaborate winding around the body that the traditional one required.[18] The spelling ROMAION (in the formula βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων) was during the reign replaced by ROMEON, which represented the way in which the word was pronounced and was to become normal in the future.[19]

A peculiar feature of Class I of the solidus, for which no satisfactory explanation has yet been found, is the b or b′ which follows the word *basileus* after the emperor's name (bASILIOS EC ΘEY bASILEYS b′). The last letter is certainly a *beta*, not a *delta* inscribed forward (ϐ), as frequently occurs on eighth- and ninth-century coins; so the last words cannot be interpreted βασιλεύς δεσπότης. Nor is b ever the equivalent of *rho*—though R was a common way of writing *beta*—so βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων is inadmissable. Later coins have AVϹYSƵ′b′ for Basil (Class III) or AVϹϹ′b′ for Basil and Constantine (Class II), i.e., αὔγουστος βασιλεύς or αὔγουστοι βασιλεῖς, but, while the word order is unusual, this formula equally will not fit bASILEYS b′. A control letter B is excluded by the occasional presence of an abbreviation stroke, besides being highly unlikely at this date. I can see no alternative to making it βασιλεὺς βασιλευόντων (or βασιλέων), adopted to match the *Rex Regnantium* that follows Christ's name on the obverse, despite the fact that no Byzantine sovereign seems ever to have assumed this ancient title of the Babylonian and Persian kings. It would certainly have struck many hearers as bordering on blasphemy, which may account for the brevity of its appearance on the coins.

It is not easy to relate the pattern of Basil's coinage to the sequence of his co-emperors, and, though overstriking and muling in the copper throw light on some of the problems, there are others for which only a provisional solution can be offered. The combinations of rulers on the coins differ startlingly from one metal to another, and the later years of the reign, after the tragedy of Constantine's death, apparently saw little minting at all. Basil detested Leo, and apparently had no great affection for Alexander. The result, for the coinage, was extraordinary. The two boys were excluded from any place in what were traditionally the chief denominations, the solidus, miliaresion, and follis. Alexander

[17] *Vita Basilii*, c. 89, in Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., 333.
[18] Above, p. 121.
[19] Above, p. 178.

never appears on them at all. Leo is shown on Classes 3 and 4 of the follis, but ranking after Constantine, and when Constantine died Basil removed Leo from the coin altogether and struck in his own name alone for the remainder of the reign. The few coins on which Basil tolerated his two younger sons were fractions in gold and copper, by now ceremonial in character, which besides being of notably poor workmanship were apparently produced for distribution at Alexander's coronation and limited to that occasion only. This marks a curious reversal of the normal practice of earlier centuries, when for dynastic reasons co-emperors were accorded a place on the higher denominations in each metal but often, whether for reasons of space or because the coins were reckoned of lesser importance, not on the fractions at all.

Wroth divided the coinage of Basil between three mints—Constantinople, a "provincial mint" now identified as Syracuse, and Cherson. These three certainly existed, though the "bronze" coin he describes as "provincial" (p. 442, No. 33, Pl. LI. 3) must be eliminated; it is a contemporary forgery in gilded copper of a solidus of Constantine V (his Pl. XLIV. 16). Syracuse was captured by the Arabs in 878 and its history as a Byzantine mint came to an end, while Cherson now for the first time began to issue coins on a large scale.[20] During the Italian wars of the 880's denari in the name of Basil, or of Basil, Leo, and Alexander, were struck at Naples, Capua, and Benevento, but these were little more than courtesy titles and the coins conform to the other issues of the localities in question and do not belong to the Byzantine series.[21]

A more elaborate pattern of mints for Basil I's folles has been proposed by Metcalf.[22] Basing his argument upon a minute analysis of small variations in their details and style, he suggests dividing the folles here attributed to Constantinople between the five mints of Constantinople, an uncertain locality in Asia Minor and another in central Greece (Thebes ?), Corinth, and Thessalonica, the specific allocations being in the main determined by the evidence of coin finds. There is no need to repeat in this context the doubts I have expressed already regarding the validity of his reasoning.[23] The stylistic groups between which he differentiates have no doubt a real existence, but what he interprets as the work of different mints seem to me more likely to be the varying products of different die-sinkers working at different times. It is not easy to believe that the transition from ROMAION to ROMEON, and still more the erroneous spelling ROMAON, could each occur at separate mints. I am very conscious of the fact that my summary treatment of the coinage fails to do justice to the variety of details which he has noted and which he believes justify his attributions. The reader who wishes to pursue the matter further should refer to what he has written on the subject.

[20] Golenko has published a follis of Tiberius III (698–705) found at Kerch and countermarked with a B, which he would interpret as Bosporos. I am inclined to read it as Basil's initial, which was Golenko's first idea, and attribute it to Cherson, such countermarking supplementing the new coins of the latter mint. See K. V. Golenko, "Gegenstempel auf Chersoner Münzen des Maurikios Tiberios," *HBN*, 6 (1964/5), 5–12, esp. 8–9, and *DOC*, II. 54, note 89.

[21] Above, p. 82.

[22] D. M. Metcalf, "Ražba follů Basilia I. a organizace jejich mincoven," *Numismatický Sbornik*, 9 (1966), 95–127 (with English summary). Its main conclusions are set out in tabular form in his *Coinage in the Balkans, 820–1355* (Thessalonica, 1965), 30–4.

[23] Above, p. 76.

A problem of some difficulty is posed by the fractional coinage of gold and copper, all of which is rare. Further gold issues may still come to light, but so far as is known this is made up as follows:

(1) Tremissis of Basil, Constantine, and Eudocia, corresponding to the solidus of Class III (below, p. 490, No. 4). It is purely Constantinopolitan in style, and raises no problems.
(2) Semissis of Basil, Leo, and Alexander (below, p. 490, No. 5). This has no solidus counterpart, and neither in style nor fabric does it resemble the normal solidi of Constantinople.
(3) Tremisses of Basil, Leo, and Alexander (below, p. 491, No. 6). I know of only four specimens. Those at Milan and Dumbarton Oaks are identical in style—they appear to share a common reverse die, though owing to the poor striking and preservation of our specimen it is difficult to be sure—but both differ somewhat from those in the British Museum and at Berlin, which themselves are markedly different from each other.
(4) Copper coins of Basil, Leo, and Alexander (below, p. 502, Nos. 13a, 13b). These formally make two groups, one with a star and the other with a cross between the heads of the two younger co-emperors, and while the styles of the reverse type are appreciably different, they share reverse dies of a single style. They are roughly half the size of normal folles, but have no corresponding follis type of Constantinople. They are very close in style to some of the semisses and tremisses, and are clearly the work of the same die-sinkers.

The copper coins of this series were not known to Wroth, and he did not query the attribution of the semisses and tremisses of Groups 2 and 3 to Constantinople. Nor did Ratto propose a provincial mint for the three copper coins in his catalogue. Schindler attributed to Sicily two copper coins that were formerly in his collection and are now at Dumbarton Oaks, while in my original arrangement of those from the Swiss Collection I classed such coins as "provincial," leaving the mint uncertain. Bellinger followed my example, and the same has been done for the copper by Mme Morrisson in her catalogue of the Byzantine coins at Paris. The gold, however, she left to Constantinople, while expressing her uncertainty about it. There seem to be no recorded find spots to help us, but in view of the rarity of the coins, which must have formed tiny issues, this is hardly surprising.

After much hesitation, I have preferred in the Catalogue to leave these rare and anomalous issues to Constantinople, treating the copper coins as half folles. The stylistic unlikeness of all of them to normal Constantinopolitan issues is undeniable, but it is difficult to envisage a provincial mint—or several provincial mints—striking fractional gold and either light-weight folles or fractional folles with no corresponding units and no Constantinopolitan prototypes. Their rarity and their unusual style can, I suggest, be better explained on the assumption that they together form a special issue intended to be thrown to the crowd or otherwise distributed on the occasion of Alexander's coronation in 879. Such coinages had usually to be produced in haste and were often of poor fabric. One need only cite the ill-struck silver medallions of Justin II, and indeed most of the Constantinopolitan silver coinage of the sixth century, to see how the production of the

less important ceremonial coinages was treated as supplementary to the main activities of the mint and left to poorly trained and incompetent workmen. The same difficulty of discordant styles between folles and fractional copper occurs, it should be said, under Leo VI. In that case the attribution of the fractions to Constantinople is supported by their being in part struck by dies for full folles, which for typological reasons does not occur here.

CONSTANTINOPLE

GOLD COINAGE.[24] There are three types of Basil's solidi and two known types of semissis and tremissis. The latter are of such rarity that other types may well come to light in the future.

The solidi may be dealt with first. They form three classes, characterized respectively by a standing figure of Basil, the busts of Basil and Constantine, and the busts of Basil, Constantine, and Eudocia. The one with the busts of Basil and Constantine, which is very common, must have provided the bulk of the gold coinage struck between 868 and 879. The other classes are more difficult to date. No relevant hoard evidence is known, that of type is ambiguous, and that of style is virtually nonexistent. The dating here proposed must therefore be regarded as provisional, and may need revision in the future.

Class I (Basil alone). Jan. 868? This class has on the obverse a seated representation of Christ and on the reverse a standing figure of the emperor. Its early date is shown by the poor quality of both designs. The figure of Christ is notably cruder than that employed on the solidi of Basil and Constantine, the head being egg-shaped without any proper delineation of a beard and Christ's right hand being only slightly raised, so that it does not reach the level of the back of the throne. The head is quite out of proportion to the rest of the body, as is also the case with Basil's head on the reverse. The coin is extremely rare—fewer than half a dozen specimens are known—and it is probable that it represents an occasional issue, not a substantive one. A possible occasion, assuming that Constantine was crowned later in the month, would have been the New Year festivities of January 868. One would have expected the emperor to mark his own accession by an abundant minting of solidi, more especially in view of his exclusion from the gold and silver coinage under Michael III, but the numismatic evidence shows that he did not do so. He was probably hampered by the extreme poverty in which he found himself after Michael's demise, when there were reputed to have been found in the treasury only 300 pounds of gold and nine sacks of miliaresia, the former in part produced by the late emperor's melting down of the splendid gold ornaments with which Theophilus had adorned the throne room of the Palace.[25]

[24] Wroth publishes (p. 435, No. 1, Pl. L. 10) what he describes as a piece of four solidi, the obverse type being the bust of Christ without nimbus that had been used on solidi of Michael III. He suggests that it may have been an offering piece of some kind. It is in fact a four-solidus gold bulla; one can see the holes through which were passed the cords that once attached it to a document. There is a similar one-solidus gold bulla, in very poor condition, at Dumbarton Oaks. See my paper, "Byzantine Gold Bullae, with a Catalogue of Those at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 239–53, esp. 248, No. 1. The obverse dies for the two bullae had probably been made and used in Michael's reign, since this particular tpye is not employed on solidi of Basil.

[25] Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., 173; cf. also 257.

Class II (Basil and Constantine). 868–879. These coins represent the main gold issue of the reign. They are distinguished from the solidi of Basil II and Constantine VIII of a century later by their having on the obverse the seated figure of Christ; by Basil II's reign this had been replaced, as the regular solidus type, by a bust of the Savior. The seated Christ is slightly different from that of Class I, the face being better designed and the right hand held higher, but mules with obverses of Class I are known.[26] The reverse type, with the busts of the two co-emperors side by side, was traditional. The issue should formally have lasted only during 868 and 869, before the coronation of Leo in January 870, but it is far too common to have been limited to two years and one must assume that it continued unchanged throughout Constantine's life. Whether it was prolonged after 879 is more doubtful, since it is hard to believe that a living and a dead ruler would be shown side by side. We have the same problem with the silver, for miliaresia bearing the names of Basil and Constantine must either have continued to the end of the reign or the issue of silver coins been suspended altogether between 879 and 886. My personal feeling is that this is what occurred, and that, apart from the exceptional solidi and tremisses of Class III and the derisory issues of fractional gold in the names of Leo and Alexander, there was no minting in the precious metals during the last eight years of the reign.

Class III (Basil, Constantine, and Eudocia). 882? Coins of this class are very rare, though they do not approach the extreme rarity of those of Class I. They also survive in very fine condition, contrasting with the commonly worn state of those of Class II, a state no doubt attributable to the long circulation of these during the reign of Leo VI. Rarity and lack of wear both point to the Constantine-Eudocia coins forming some sort of special issue. The type, however, is puzzling, for it was contrary to custom for an empress to appear on coins at all. The only recent precedent was Theodora, wife of Theophilus, but during her husband's reign she had been shown only on rare ceremonial solidi and her regency on behalf of her son explains her appearance on regular issues under Michael III. For Eudocia one has two alternatives. Either the coins of Basil, Constantine, and Eudocia represent a coronation issue of 868, despite the fact that an empress would not normally figure on such a coinage, or it may be a memorial issue, struck after the death of Eudocia in 882 and commemorating the two persons whom Basil is known to have deeply loved. It would thus be comparable to the Michael-and-Constantine solidi of Theophilus and the memorial issues of the Isaurian period, but anomalous in that none of these included empresses and that this one seems to have been a very limited issue. There is no positive evidence one way or the other, though the mules already noted between Classes I and II are slightly against interpolating the Constantine-Eudocia coins between them in 868. I would attribute the coins tentatively to 882, but new evidence may in due course show that the earlier date is really the correct one.

FRACTIONAL GOLD. This has been discussed already. There is nothing corresponding to Classes I and II of the solidi, but there is a tremissis corresponding to Class III. There are also semisses and tremisses of Basil, Leo, and Alexander for which no solidus equivalent is known and none may ever have existed. Despite their stylistic peculiarities they are best attributed to Constantinople, the occasion of their issue being the coronation of Alexander in 879.

[26] Two I have noted are Fürstenberg 1677 and Kress Cat. 127, 23. x. 63, lot 950.

SILVER COINAGE. This requires little comment. The only miliaresia known are struck in the names of Basil and Constantine and are of the same type as Class III of Michael III's coins, even to the way in which the innermost of the three circles of dots on the obverse is broken by four pellets. The title of *megas* is dropped, since the presence of Constantine's name reduced the amount of space available, and ROMAION is now spelled ROMEOˢ, a feature to be quickly taken over by the copper. The pellet beneath the steps of the cross on the reverse is greatly increased in size, so that it is now a large globule, and there is a consequent rearrangement of the inscription, which now breaks XRI STYS instead of XRIS TYS.

These miliaresia were presumably struck over the whole period of Basil and Constantine's joint reign, i.e., 868–79, despite the absence of any reference to Leo. They may have continued down to 886, for the conjoined names of a living and a dead emperor would have been less incongruous than their conjoined busts, but I think it unlikely. We would therefore have no silver coins that can be assigned to 879–86. Nor is any silver known for the first few months of the reign, when Basil was ruling without a colleague. This is strange, since Theophilus and Michael III had already broken with the tradition that miliaresia were coins struck only during a joint reign, and coins for this period may yet be found. But it is equally possible that the nine sacks of miliaresia found in the treasury on Basil's accession proved sufficient for his immediate needs.

COPPER COINAGE. There are five main classes of folles which may be characterized as follows:

1. Busts of Basil and Constantine	868–70
2. Basil and Constantine seated	
3. Half-figures of Basil (l. hand not shown), Constantine, and Leo	870–79
4. Same figures, Basil with l. hand raised	
5. Seated figure of Basil	879–86

No hoards are recorded which would throw light on the order of issue, but this, and some approximation to dating, can be deduced from combinations of emperors in the types, the existence of mules between the classes, occasional relationships with earlier and later coins, and minor changes in orthography and design. A detail of some importance is the spelling of Ῥωμαίων in the reverse inscription. The classes with Basil and Constantine, which are presumably early (868–70), use the traditional ROMAION, while those with Basil, Constantine, and Leo, which are necessarily later (870–79), as well as Class 5 with Basil alone, have the newer variant ROMEON, which was to become customary under Leo VI and subsequently. The justification for the order followed in the catalogue may be set out as follows:

Class 1. Busts of Basil and Constantine (No. 8). The two figures hold between them a labarum usually marked with + or ∴. The reverse has a five-line inscription with the first line +bASIL and the last (R)OMAION, this being occasionally blundered to OMAON, or on one die to OMAIN (Metcalf 60). Coins of this class are of poorer fabric than those of later ones, with irregularly shaped flans and broken edges. A high proportion are overstruck on badly worn folles of Theophilus, but this is a feature which they share with many coins of Classes 2–4. Their manifest inferiority to the handsome folles of

Michael III and Basil on the one hand, and in general to the later classes of Basil's own reign on the other, forms an obvious objection to their attribution to the mint of Constantinople.

Since Classes 1 and 2 both show only Basil and Constantine, they are best attributed to the years 868 and 869, before the accession of Leo. If one were to judge by the way in which Constantine is represented one would have to put Class 2 first, for on it he is normally shown as a small child, almost an infant, while on Class 1 he is a young man. On the other hand, the type of Class 1, with the busts of two emperors side by side, is traditional, and since all Basil's other types in copper are novel it would seem more reasonable to put the traditional type first, before the period of experiments began. The discrepancy in the apparent ages of Constantine would thus result from the fact that the seated figures involved a completely new design, encouraging a more careful depiction of the junior emperor. Further, a number of mules have been recorded by Metcalf (Nos. 59–67) between Classes 1 and 2, on the reverse dies of which the first line of the inscription reads +bASILIO or +bASILO (not +bASIL), while we do not find obverses of Class 1, as we do those of Class 2, linked with reverses of Class 3 (rev. inscription ending OMEON). The order of issue seems therefore secure.

Since Class 1 includes Constantine it cannot have been struck during the first months of Basil's reign. The only folles of Basil alone are those of Class 5, with the emperor seated, and both Wroth and Mme Morrisson do in fact assign this class to 867–8. In my view it belongs to 879–86, after the death of Constantine. The type is extremely uniform, contrasting with the endless variations of the earlier classes, and it continues under Leo VI with no change beyond that of the emperor's name; the bad practice of overstriking had been abandoned; it consistently reads ROMEON, never ROMAION; and the large, bold lettering of its reverse—four lines instead of five—links it firmly with Leo's coinage. This dating, however, implies that Basil struck no folles in the first months of his reign, thus reverting to the conditions that had obtained during most of that of Michael III.

The problem of mint remains open. The coins are catalogued here under Constantinople, and my feeling, on balance, is that despite their poor workmanship it is to this mint that they belong. If Class 2 is attributable to Constantinople, then Class 1, on the evidence of muling, should be also. The poor appearance of the coins is partly a consequence of overstriking, partly of the mint having had to take on extra staff to cope with large and long overdue issues of copper coins. I would assume that Class 1 represents a hasty and short-lived issue in the winter months of 867/8, Class 2 a more considered design minted during the rest of 868 and the whole of 869. It is in any case possible that Class 3, with Leo, was not introduced immediately upon this emperor's coronation, which would allow a longer period of issue for Class 2.

Class 2. Basil and Constantine seated (No. 9). The obverse type shows two figures, Constantine much smaller than Basil, seated side by side on a high-backed throne and holding between them a labarum marked with X. There are two distinct forms of inscription, one giving the emperors the title of *basileis* and the other that of *augustoi*. There are also many small varieties of design—in the relative sizes of the figures, in the details of the imperial costume, in the decoration of the throne, and so forth—but these were an almost inevitable consequence of the relatively complicated type, and although they

may help the modern scholar in classifying the dies used for the issue, they are of no importance in themselves. The reverse has a five-line inscription, like that of Class 1, but with +bASILIO or +bASILO instead of +bASIL as its first line.

Class 3. Half-figures of Basil (hand not shown), Constantine, and Leo (No. 10). Classes 3 and 4 are alike in that their obverse type consists of the half-length figures of Basil (wearing loros), Constantine (wearing chlamys), and Leo (also wearing chlamys), and on the reverse a five-line inscription beginning +bASIL and ending ROMEON. They differ in a number of particulars:

(a) *Basil's gesture.* On coins of Class 3 his left hand is not shown; on those of Class 4 it is raised in front of him. Some scholars have described him as holding an akakia, but this is doubtful. The hand is closed, so that the top of it seems to swell upward, but there is not the rounded projection below the wrist which always accompanies representations of the akakia. The same difficulty of interpretation occurs with Class 5, where the seated Basil has his left hand resting in his lap but without an akakia being formally shown. It may well be that in both cases one was intended—the nature of the gesture in Class 4 is otherwise hard to explain—but the die-sinkers did not know how to depict one satisfactorily.

(b) *Basil's loros.* On coins of Class 3 this is of the normal type, a long scarf wound in a complicated fashion across the body, but as on the half folles of Theophilus it appears in two varieties, either with the outer fold running from the emperor's left hip to his right shoulder or with the directions reversed. On coins of Class 4 the "scarf" element of the loros is eliminated, so that it forms a single garment hanging straight or almost straight downward from the neck and shoulders.[27]

(c) *Inscription.* On Class 3 this is either unaccompanied by any ornament or has a cross or a star beneath the bottom line. On Class 4 there is always a star.

Despite their general similarity, therefore, we are justified in speaking of two separate classes, distinguished from each other by positive changes in design which must have resulted from precise instructions and not from the whims of die-sinkers. As to the order of issue, Nos. 9c and 10e.1–2 below are mules respectively between the obverses of Class 2 (two seated figures) and Class 3 (three emperors in inscription) and an obverse of Class 3 (three half-figures, Basil's hand not shown) and a reverse of Class 2 (two emperors in inscription). It is clear that Class 3 followed Class 2 and preceded Class 4.

As to the internal arrangement of Class 3, a classification based on loros arrangement would cut across one based on the presence or absence of a symbol below the reverse inscription. The former seems by this time to have depended on the care exercised by die-sinkers, and it was clearly a matter of indifference to the mint authorities whether the loros was shown correctly or not. The addition of a cross or star, on the other hand, represents a substantial change in design which could only have been made in response to orders from above. I have therefore given precedence to this in my arrangement of the coins in the catalogue.

Class 4. Half-figures of Basil (with raised hand), Constantine, and Leo (No. 11). This class requires no further comment. The dies differ slightly between themselves in

[27] See Introduction, p. 121, for a discussion of this change.

the sizes of the figures, in the design of the loros—Basil sometimes looks as if he were turned slightly to the right or the left—in the shape of Basil's face, and in the position of his hand, but in the main they are very uniform. If Classes 3 and 4 have to be fitted into the years 870–79, as is presumably the case, it is hard to decide when—or why—the changes in design which distinguished between them should have been made, but one could not be far wrong in dating Class 3 to 870–*c*.874 and Class 4 to *c*.875–9.

Class 5. Seated figure of Basil (No. 12). This shows Basil seated on a lyre-backed throne, of a type known to us from other representations of the period,[28] and holding a labarum ornamented with X. The reverse inscription is in four instead of five lines, since the names of no co-emperors had to be inserted, and it ends ROMEON. The reasons for placing the class at the end of the reign have been given already. Basil was evidently no more prepared to associate Leo and Alexander with him on his folles than he was on his solidi.

FRACTIONAL COPPER. The attribution of these coins, which differ from the folles in recognizing the existence of Leo and Alexander and must therefore date from 879 or later, has already been discussed. Despite their substantial differences in size and weight I believe they should all be regarded as half folles, their irregularity being explained by their being basically ceremonial in character and not intended for everyday circulation. It is possible, however, that the lighter coins were intended as quarter folles.

SYRACUSE

Basil's Sicilian coinage consists of semisses and tremisses struck in his name and that of Constantine. The semisses closely resemble those of Michael III, both in their appearance —the emaciated features of the co-emperors are characteristic—and in their being of extremely base gold, or rather of copper which usually still bears traces of gilding. The tremissis was something of a revival, since this denomination had apparently not been struck during the later years of Theophilus or under Michael III, and only a single specimen is known.

There is no identifiable copper, for Schindler's view that the anomalous half folles already discussed might be Sicilian seems to be excluded by their quite different style of portraiture. With the "gold" already so debased there would have been no place for a fiduciary coinage. The issue of semisses and tremisses probably came to an end in 878, with the capture of Syracuse by the Arabs, and no Sicilian coins are known of subsequent emperors.

CHERSON[29]

The copper coinage of Cherson forms four classes. The coins all bear Basil's initial, either alone or in company with those of Constantine; there are none including Leo or Alexander. They begin with the purely epigraphical types introduced under Michael III, but sometime in the 870's a cross on steps was adopted for the reverse. The most reasonable arrangement of them seems to be as follows:

[28] See Introduction, p. 115.

[29] Cf. A. V. Oreshnikov, "Khersono-vizantiiskiya moneti," *Trudi Moskovskago numizmaticheskago obshchestva*, 3 (1905), 365–6.

Class 1 (Basil alone). 867–8. B and a cross on the obverse, ⁂, sometimes between two crosses, on the reverse. These are uniformly small coins like those of Michael III, and similar to these in their reverse type.

Class 2 (Basil and Constantine). 868–*c*.876. ΒΑ on the obverse and ΚΤω on the reverse, with pellets in the field on both sides. Coins of this class are much larger and heavier than those of Class 1, and may have had a different value. The class belongs to the decade 868–79 and probably precedes Class 3, which saw the introduction of the cross-on-steps reverse that carried on into later classes and into the reign of Leo VI. The date suggested for its ending is no more than a guess.

Class 3 (Basil and Constantine). *c*.876–9. Large B between Κ and ω on the obverse, a cross on steps between two pellets on the reverse. Coins of this class are the largest and heaviest of the reign. It is possible that Classes 2 and 3 were issued simultaneously, coins of Class 3 having twice the value of those of Class 2, in which case both classes would have to be dated 868–79.

Class 4 (Basil alone). 879–86. Large B, sometimes between two pellets, on the obverse; same reverse as Class 3. These are much smaller than the coins of Class 3, and in size and type carry on into the reign of Leo VI. The lower loop of the B sometimes assumes a triangular form, thus becoming a *delta* and making a monogram of ΒΔ, i.e., Βασίλειος δεσπότης.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			SOLIDUS		
			Class I		
			Basil alone		
			+IhSXPSREX REϹNA NTIYM✱ Christ seated (Type Ia), facing, bearded, on small lyre-backed throne, wearing tunic and himation, r. hand raised outwards in blessing, book resting on l. knee	+bASILIOSECΘ EYbAS ILEYS·b✱ Emperor standing, facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia	868(?)
*1	N 4.38	20 ↓			
			Class II		
			Basil and Constantine		
			Same inscr. and type	bASILIOSET CONSTA NT'AVϹϹ'b' Two busts facing, Basil on l., bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross, Constantine on r., smaller, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross; patriarchal cross held between them by their r. hands	868–879

1 Peirce 1948 from Spink 16. xi. 36
W. p. 436 (Paris), T. 2, R. —
On the final b of the reverse inscr. see above, p. 477. There is a modern forgery of this in the Whittemore Collection (4.38 g.). The surface is slightly convex, and the letters very sharply cut.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*2a.1	N 4.46	20 ↓	Star ✳		868–879
*2a.2	N 4.42	20 ↙	Star ✳		
2a.3	N 4.27 pierced	20 ↓	Star ✳ Double struck		
2a.4	N 4.16	20 ↓	Star ✳		
2b.1	N 4.52 with rings	20 ↓	Star ✳		
2b.2	N 4.44	20 ↙	Star ✳		
2b.3	N 4.44	20 ↙	Star ✳		
*2b.4	N 4.40	20 ↓	Star ✳		
*2b.5	N 4.37	20 ↓	Star ✳		
2b.6	N 4.36	20 ↙	Star ✳		
2b.7	N 4.35	21 ↓	Star ✳		
2b.8	N 4.27	19 ↓	Star ✳ ∩ has the form И	At end, d for b	
2c.1	N 4.48	20 ↓	Star ✶ V for Ч		
*2c.2	N 4.42	20 ↓	Star ✶		
2c.3	N 4.39 pierced	19 ↓	Star ✶		
2c.4	N 4.38	19 ↓	Star ✶		

The coin was unknown prior to 1904, when the Paris specimen was published by J. de Foville, "Deux monnaies byzantines récemment acquises par le Cabinet des Médailles," *RN*[4], 8 (1904), 105–11.

2 The seated figure of Christ on Class II differs from that of Class I in that the r. hand is held slightly higher, on a level with the top of the back of the throne. On coins of Class I it is invariably lower. There are a few very rare coins of Class II muled with obverses of Class I (above, p. 481, note 26). I have followed Mr. Bellinger in distinguishing between the position or form of the star (✳, ✳, or ✶) at the end of the reverse inscription, though its significance seems to me doubtful.

2a.1 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vii. 28
W. 2–4, T. 3–4, R. 1858

2a.2 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vii. 28

2a.3–4 Whittemore
Both these coins are of poor workmanship, with badly formed letters.

2b.1–8 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —

2c.1 Schindler 1960 from Egger
W. —, T. —, R. —
The form ✶ is most unusual on Byzantine coins. It is basically, no doubt, a badly formed ✳ or ✳.

2c.2–4 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*2c.5	N	4.37	20	↙	Star ✶		868–879
2d.1	N	4.33	20	↙	Star obscure		
2d.2	N	4.29	19	↓	Star mostly off flan		
					Class III		
					Basil, Constantine, and Eudocia		
					+bASILIOS AYYYST'b'	CONSTANT' SEVDOC IA✶	882(?)
					Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, globus surmounted by patriarchal cross; in l., akakia	Two busts facing, Constantine on l., beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr.; Eudocia on r., wearing loros and crown with cross and two pinnacles, holding in l. hand cross scepter. Above, cross	
3.1	N	4.44	19	↓			
*3.2	N	4.41	22	↓			
3.3	N	4.40	19	↓			
*3.4	N	4.39	21	↓		Ends DOSIA✶	

2c.5 Friend 1957
2d.1–2 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —
Two further specimens of this group (with ✶) in the Whittemore Collection appear to be modern forgeries.
3.1–3 Whittemore
W. p. 437 (Paris), T. 5, R. —
3.4 Peirce 1948 from Spink 30. vii. 36
Same reverse die as T. 5

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			FRACTIONAL GOLD		
			Class III		
			Basil, Constantine, and Eudocia		
			TREMISSIS		
			+bASILIOS bASILEYS Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross, holding in r. hand globus surmounted by patriarchal cross, in l., akakia	+CONSTANTIN' CEEY ƊOCIA Two busts facing, Constantine on l., beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, Eudocia on r., larger, wearing loros and crown with cross and pinnacles. Above, cross	882(?)
*(4)	*N*	14	(Private coll.)		
			Class IV		
			Basil, Leo, and Alexander		
			SEMISSIS		
			bA SILIO'AVƬOS Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross, holding in r. hand cross potent, in l., akakia	+LEO[NCEALEΩ]AY ϹϹ✱ Two busts facing, beardless, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Above, cross	879(?)
*(5)	*N* 2.05 broken	17 ↓	(BN)		

(4) I do not know the present whereabouts of this coin, of which I was given a photograph by a dealer many years ago.

(5) *BNC*, II.542–3/08. Published by Wroth, p. 437, Pl. L. 14, but as a solidus. The AYƬOS after Basil's name must be αὔ[γουσ]τος, not αὐτοκράτωρ.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TREMISSIS		
			bA SILIO'AYϹ'	+LEONCEALEΩ'AV ϹϹ'	879(?)
*6	N 1.46 pierced	13 ↓	Same type	Same type	
			MILIARESION		
			+bASI LIOSCE CONSTAN TINꝰPISTV bASILIS ROMEOꝰ within triple circle of dots. Four pellets on inner circle, one each above, below, and on either side	IhSYSXRI STYSNICA Cross potent on base and three steps, with globus beneath, all within triple circle of dots	868–879
7.1	Æ 2.92 plugged	25 ↑			
*7.2	Æ 2.91	25 ↑			
7.3	Æ 2.88	27 ↑			
*7.4	Æ 2.84	25 ↑			
7.5	Æ 2.83	25 ↑			
7.6	Æ 2.83 pierced	26 ↑			
7.7	Æ 2.81 pierced	25 ↗			

6 Peirce 1948 from Platt 10. iii. 24
W. 5, T. —, R. —
Wroth read SE for CE on the reverse, but the C is clear on our specimen and that at Milan. A specimen of unusually large module (16 mm.) at Berlin reads AVϹϹ on the obverse, evidently a die-sinker's error.

7.1 Whittemore
W. 6–7, T. 11–12, R. 1860

7.2 Peirce 1948 from Schulman iv. 32

7.3–9 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
7.8	Æ 2.78	24 ↗			868–879
7.9	Æ 2.77	25 ↑			
*7.10	Æ 2.76	25 ↗			
7.11	Æ 2.74	25 ↑	No pellets on circle		
	pierced				
7.12	Æ 2.74	23 ↗			
*7.13	Æ 2.73	26 ↖			
*7.14	Æ 2.66	23 ↗			
	pierced				
7.15	Æ 2.53	24 ↑			
*7.16	Æ 2.50	25 ↖			
7.17	Æ 2.47	24 ↑			
7.18	Æ 2.42	24 ↖			
	pierced				
7.19	Æ 2.41	24 ↑			
7.20	Æ 2.17	24 ↑			

7.10 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vi. 29
7.11 Whittemore
Letters of inscription very carelessly placed
7.12 Whittemore
7.13 Peirce 1948 from Glendining sale 9. iii. 31, lot 622
7.14–15 Whittemore
7.16 Peirce 1948
7.17–20 Whittemore
There is also amongst the Whittemore coins a forgery of the period, much corroded, in copper or some other base metal (2.78 g., 24 mm. ↑).

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			FOLLIS *Class 1* Busts of Basil and Constantine		
			+bASILIOSSCONST' AYSS Two busts facing, Basil to l., bearded, Constantine to r., smaller, beardless, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding between them by their r. hands a labarum ornamented with ∴ and streamers	+bASIL SCONSTAN TINOSENΘO bASILEISR OMAION	868–870
			(a) Rev. inscr. ends (R)OMAION		
8a.1	Æ 7.09	27 ↑	+bA[ ]ST'AYS On labarum, +		
*8a.2	Æ 5.07	26 ↓	]SILIOSSCON[ ]AYSS	L' for L	
*8a.3	Æ 4.28 pierced and broken	26 ↓	+bASILIO[ ]ONSTA VSS		
8a.4	Æ 4.06	26 ↓	+bASI[ ]SCONSTAYS	IL off flan	

8 For reasons of symmetry, Basil's chlamys is fastened at his left shoulder instead of his right. Our four specimens of this class are all in exceptionally poor condition.

8a.1 Schindler 1960
W. 12–16, T. —, R. 1861

8a.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28

8a.3 Swiss Collection 1959

8a.4 Schindler 1960
Thin and small flan

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(b) Rev. inscr. ends (R)OMAON		868–870
(8b)	Æ	7.84	26	↓	(W. 11)		
					Class 2		
					Basil and Constantine seated		
					Inscription Two figures seated on double throne, facing, Basil to l., bearded, Constantine to r., smaller, beardless, each wearing modified loros and crown with cross, holding between them labarum ornamented with X and streamers	+bASIL(I)O SCONSTAN TINOSENΘO bASILEISR OMAION	
					(a) Emperors with *basileis* title; rev. reads +bASILIO		
*9a.1	Æ	8.24	29	↙	+bASL SCON[ ]SIL		
*9a.2	Æ	7.09	30	↓	+bASIL' SCONSTbA SIL'	Overstruck on follis of Theophilus; [Θ]EO visible	
9a.3	Æ	6.09	29	↘	]L' SCONSTbASIL'		
9a.4	Æ	5.72	25	↓	]bASIL'		
	very worn						

(8b) Wroth implies that his Nos. 11–16 all end OMAON, but in fact this is true only of W. 11.

9 Coins of Class 2a tend to be large and thin, with irregular edges; those of Class 2d are neater, thicker, and well rounded; and those of 2b are sometimes one and sometimes the other. The thin, spread fabric of some of these in 2a and 2b may be due to their being overstruck.

9a.1–2 Whittemore
W. 19–20, T. —, R. 1862

9a.3 Swiss Collection 1956

9a.4 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(b) Same title, but +bASILO		868–870
*9b.1	Æ	8.15	30	↘	]ONSτbASIL'	Trace of overstriking	
*9b.2	Æ	7.64	27	↓	+bASIL [ ]ONSτbA SILIS	No bar above ΘO	
*9b.3	Æ	7.16	26	↓	bASILIOS SCONSτA N'bASL'	First line ends O>	
9b.4	Æ	7.08	28	↓	+bAS[ ]ONSτbASIL Overstruck on rev. of Theophilus	Overstruck on obv. of Theophilus	
9b.5	Æ	5.69	26	↓	+bASILO SCONSτA N[τ]bASIL	First line ends O>	
*9b.6	Æ	4.97	27	↓	+bASILO SCONSτb ASILS	First line ends O>	
					(c) Mule with rev. of Class 3		
*9c	Æ	6.40	27	↘	+bASILO CONSτAN τbASIL'	+bASILO' | SCONSτ AN | τSLEONEN | ΘObASILS | ROMAON	
					(d) Emperors with *augustoi* title; rev. reads +bASILO>		
*9d.1	Æ	9.01	27	↓	+bASILO CONSτAY ϛϛY		

9b.1 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
W. 18, T. 21, R. 1863
9b.2 Whittemore
9b.3–4 Schindler 1960
9b.5 Peirce 1948
9b.6 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
9c Peirce 1948
W. —, T. —, R. —
The reverse inscription ought to read ROMEON, but ROMAON had been a common error in Class 1.
9d.1 Schindler 1960
W. 17, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*9d.2	Æ	7.42	27	↙	+bASILO SCONSTA ЧϹϹT'	First line ends O	868–870
9d.3	Æ	6.62	27	↓	+bASIL SCONSTA ЧϹϹ'		
9d.4	Æ	6.48	27	↙	+bASILO SCONSTA ЧϹϹT		
*9d.5	Æ	6.20	26	↓	+bASIL' CONSTAT ϹϹS		
					Class 3		
					Basil, Constantine, and Leo; Basil's hand not shown		
					+LEONbASILSCONS TAЧϹϹ' Three half-figures, facing, Basil in center, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross, Leo and Constantine to l. and r. respectively, smaller, beardless, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross	+bASIL CONSTAN TSLEONEN ΘObASILS ROMEON	870–879
					(a) No symbol beneath rev. inscr.		
*10a.1	Æ	9.27	28	↙	+LEONbASILSCONS TA'		

9d.2–3 Whittemore
9d.4 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vii. 28
9d.5 Friend 1957
10a On these coins the loros is worn in the normal way, running from Basil's left shoulder to his right hip, and the chlamys of each of the junior emperors is correctly fastened at the right shoulder. On the coins classified as 10b these parts of the design are reversed from left to right.
10a.1 Schindler 1960
W. —, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*10a.2	Æ	8.17	28	↓	]ILCONST'AYSS' Overstruck on Theophilus	+bASIL` and L` (for LS)	870–879
*10a.3	Æ	6.53	27	↘	+LEONbASILSCONS TAY'		
*10a.4	Æ	6.24	31	↘	]LEONb[ ]AYSS'	+bASIL` and ΘObASIL' Overstruck	
*10a.5	Æ	5.66	27	↙	+LEO[ ]SIL'SCONS TAYSST Overstruck	+bASIL	
10a.6	Æ	5.39	26	↙	+LEONbASILSCONS TAYI		
*10a.7	Æ	5.36	25	↓	+LEONbASILSCONS TANY[ISOST] Overstruck on Class 2	Two top lines confused by overstrike; bASILIO of Class 2 legible	
*10a.8	Æ	4.54	27	↙	Inscr. illegible; overstruck on Theophilus	+bASIL` and L` (for LS); LENEN for LEONEN	
10b.1	Æ	6.63	26	↙	+LEONbASILSCONST AYSS' Costumes reversed from l. to r.		
*10b.2	Æ	5.27	26	↘	Reads bASILCON Costumes reversed from l. to r.		

10a.2–3 Whittemore
10a.4 Schindler 1960
10a.5 Shaw 1947
10a.6 Whittemore
10a.7 Whittemore
Curious style. The OST at the end of the obverse inscription belongs to the earlier striking.
10a.8 Whittemore
Thin flan and poor lettering
10b.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 24, T. —, R. —
10b.2 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(b) + below rev. inscr.		870–879
*10c.1	Æ	7.61	30	↙	]ONbAS[ ]CONST[Overstruck on Theophilus	]NSTA[|]SLEONE[| ΘΘbASILS | ROMEON | +	
*10c.2	Æ	4.51	29	↙	(ΘEOFILO)bASIL[Overstruck on Theophilus	Top 2 lines confused by earlier striking; ΘΘ for ΘO	
					(c) ✱ below rev. inscr.		
10d.1	Æ	7.17	26	↘	+LEON[ ]ICONSTAY'	+bASIL' | CONSTAN | T'SLEONEN | ΘΘbAS IL' | ROMEON | ✱ Overstruck	
*10d.2	Æ	6.43	28	↙	LEONbASIL'CONST' AYSS'		
*10d.3	Æ	5.94	27	↙	+LEONbASILSCONST AY'		
					(d) Mules with rev. of Class 2		
*10e.1	Æ	7.64	26	↘	+LEONbASIL'[ ]S'	+bASILIO | SCONST AN | TINOSENΘΘ | bASILEISR | OMAION	

10c.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 25, T. —, R. —

10c.2 Swiss Collection 1956
Struck on a very thin flan

10d Specimens of this class are too numerous to be regarded as mules with Class 4, as one would otherwise be inclined to make them.

10d.1 Whittemore
W. 26–29, T. —, R. —
The star beneath the inscription is uncertain. It may be a confused reproduction of Basil's crown from an earlier striking, of which]ICONSAI[is legible. The crown would be appropriately positioned on the die.

10d.2 Whittemore
The star beneath the inscription has been corroded into a cross, but the position of the rays shows that it was originally a star.

10d.3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28

10e.1 Whittemore
W. —, T. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*10e.2	Æ	7.21	27	↓	+LEONbASILSCONS τAYSS'	Same inscription	870–879
					Class 4		
					Basil, Constantine, and Leo; Basil's l. hand raised		
					+LEONbASIL CONSτ AYSS' Similar type, but Basil wears modified loros and raises l. hand in front; chlamys of Leo and of Constantine fastened at l. shoulder	Same inscr. as Class 3, but ✱ beneath	
*11.1	Æ	9.23	28	↓			
*11.2	Æ	9.14	28	↘			
11.3	Æ	8.91	26	↓			
11.4	Æ	7.86	28	↓			
11.5	Æ	7.70	26	↓	bASL for bASIL Ends AYSS		
11.6	Æ	7.63	27	↓			
11.7	Æ	7.51	27	↘	A for A		
11.8	Æ	7.29	28	↓	bASL for bASIL		
11.9	Æ	6.98	28	↘	+LEbASIL CONτAYS'		

10e.2 Schindler 1960

11 On coins of this class Basil's bust is larger than on Class 3, so that the cross of the crown breaks the obverse inscription. The modified loros is no longer a scarf, but a robe hanging straight down from the shoulders and neck. Sometimes, influenced by the old design, the die-cutter has slightly distorted the squares of the pattern into lozenges. There is much less variety of inscription than in the preceding classes.

11.1–7 Whittemore
W. 22–23, T. —, R. 1865

11.8 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928

11.9 Peirce 1948
The unusual obverse inscription might be the result of double striking, but cf. W. 21 and R. 1864 with +LE'bASIL' and CONτ.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*11.10	Æ	6.76	27	↓	Reads CONT'AYSS'		870–879
11.11	Æ	6.37	28	↓	+LEONbAS CONST' AYSS·	Reads +bASIL'; OO for ΘO in the 4th line	
*11.12	Æ	6.28	26	↘	+LEONbAS SCONST AYSS'		
11.13	Æ	6.01	28	↓	bASL for bASIL Ends AYSS		
11.14	Æ	6.01	25	↓			
11.15	Æ	5.73	26	↓	Ends AYS'		
*11.16	Æ	5.52	27	↓	CONT for CONST	Last letter of each line off flan	
*11.17	Æ	5.03	28	↓			
					Class 5		
					Basil alone		
					+bASILIO S bASILE VS* Basil seated facing on lyre-backed throne, bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross, holding in r. hand labarum, resting l. on lap	+bASIL IOSENΘEO bASILEVS ROMEON	

11.10 Whittemore
11.11 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
11.12–14 Whittemore
11.15 Schindler 1960
11.16 Whittemore
Unusual style. The letters are carelessly formed, the crown, hair, and shoulders of Basil are outlined with pellets, and in general all the lines are extremely fine. The hair of all three figures curls at the neck more markedly than usual.
11.17 Schindler 1960
12 The upper part of Basil's robe is that of the modified loros of Class 4, though it does not hang evenly over his knees and the die-sinker seems to have been at a loss over how to represent it. One would expect the emperor to be holding an akakia in his left hand, as with the

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*12.1	Æ	9.75	27	↘			879–886
12.2	Æ	8.23	27	↙			
12.3	Æ	8.06	26	↘			
12.4	Æ	7.79	27	↙			
*12.5	Æ	7.07	27	↙	Star ✱		
*12.6	Æ	6.69	26	↘			
12.7	Æ	6.22	26	↓	Star ✱		
12.8	Æ	6.21	25	↓			
					HALF FOLLIS		
					Basil, Leo, and Alexander		
					bA SILIO'AYϹ' Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross, holding in r. hand cross potent, in l., akakia	+LEONϹEALEΞAϹϹ Two busts facing, beardless, each wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Above, ✱ or +	

comparable solidi of Class II of Leo IV and Constantine a century earlier (above, p. 329 n.), and one may be intended, but as with Class 4 none is clearly shown. The labarum is always ornamented with X and streamers.

12.1 Peirce 1948 from Spink iii. 29
W. 8–10, T. 13, R. 1851

12.2 Whittemore

12.3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28

12.4 Whittemore

12.5 Schindler 1960 from Egger 1914

12.6 Peirce 1948 from Bourgey

12.7–8 Whittemore

13–14 The reasons for attributing these coins to Constantinople, despite their unusual types and fabric, as also for treating them as a single "denomination," are set out above, pp. 479–80. The inscriptions, which are never complete, have had to be reconstructed with the help of several specimens. The flans were normally too small for the dies, and even when they were large enough, as with 13a.1, the dies may have been centered badly and the coins carelessly struck.

The busts on the reverses of 13a (with ✱) are fairly large and about equal in size, while those of 13b (with +) are slenderer, and Alexander is shown as smaller than Leo. Both types of die are used indifferently on large and small flans. Nos. 13a.3, and even more 13a.4, are ✱

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(a) ✱ above heads on rev.		879–886
*13a.1	Æ	5.13	22	↓	bA SILI[	+L[ ]C[	
*13a.2	Æ	4.48	21	↘	bA S[	+LEO[	
*13a.3	Æ	2.57	20	↓	bA[ ]O'AY	+LE[ ]CEAL[	
*13a.4	Æ	2.06	17	↓	]O'AYϹ'	]NCEALEΩ[	
					(b) + above heads on rev.		
*13b.1	Æ	2.80	17	↓	bA SILIO'A[	+LE[	
*13b.2	Æ	2.14	16	↓	Inscr. off flan	+LEONC[	

type on small flans, while there was formerly in the de Saulcy collection one of + type on a large flan.

Our specimens are differently corroded or patinated, and show no trace of any common provenance.

13a In addition to the four specimens here, I have noted one each in Paris (*BNC*, Pl. LXXV/07), Berlin, Copenhagen, and Naples.

13a.1 Swiss Collection 1956 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30, lot 1866
W. —, T. —, R. 1866 This coin

13a.2 Schindler 1960 from Bertelè

13a.3 Swiss Collection 1956
Thin, rather irregularly shaped flan. This may be identical with Ratto 1867, which is not illustrated.

13a.4 Swiss Collection 1956
Thin flan, not well rounded

13b The obverse dies of these were of the same style and size as those of 13a, so that when the flans are very small, as with 13b.2, the whole of the inscription is off flan. The dies of the reverses are of superior style, like that of the semissis described above (No. 5), with slender, well-designed busts, but although the busts are smaller than those of 13a the complete die-face was probably the same size. There is another specimen of this group at Berlin (cross not visible) and one in his collection, struck on a large flan, was illustrated by F. de Saulcy, *Essai de classification des suites monétaires byzantines* (Metz, 1836), Pl. XIX. 6. Although the illustration omits the cross, the slender busts show that it belonged to this group. Its present whereabouts is unknown to me, for it was not separately catalogued in the relevant Fürstenberg sale.

13b.1 Swiss Collection from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30, lot 1868
W. —, T. —, R. 1868 This coin

13b.2 Schindler 1960

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Syracuse		
			SEMISSIS		
			bAS ILEIOC Bust facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross, holding in r. hand gl. cr.	CON STANT' Similar bust to obv., but wearing chlamys	868–879
			(a) Nothing before obv. inscr.		
*14a	(Æ) 1.06	14 ↓			
(14b)	(Æ) 1.35	14 ↓	(W. 30, 32, T. 9 bis) Λ for L		
			(b) ✱ before obv. inscr.		
*15	(Æ) 1.08	14 ↘			
			TREMISSIS		
			bAS ILEIOCb Similar bust, but costume obscure, holding cross potent inwards	CON STANTb Similar bust, but costume obscure, holding cross potent outwards	
*(16)	Æ 0.94	14 ↓	(ANS Museum)		

14a Schindler 1960
W. —, T. 9, R. 1859, Ricotti 244
This specimen seems to be copper, with a trace of gilding. The obverse and reverse have been accidentally interchanged on the plate.

15 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. 31, T. —, R. —, Ricotti 245
This is of gilded copper. Specimens of No. 14, unlike those of No. 13, are somewhat rare.

(16) There is no trace of gilding on this coin, which so far as I know is unique.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Cherson		
					Class 1		
					Basil alone		
					B To r., cross	⛩	867–868
					(a) No symbol in rev. field		
17a.1	Æ	1.60	13	↖	Cross obscure		
*17a.2	Æ	1.57	14	↓			
*17a.3	Æ	0.87	13	↑			
					(b) Cross to r. on rev.		
(17b)	Æ		18	↓	(T. 19, Oreshnikov 18)		
					(c) Cross to l. and r. on reverse		
*17c	Æ	2.00	13	↗			
					Class 2		
					Basil and Constantine		
					BA Border of dots. Above, • Beneath, ∴	KW Above, T Beneath, ∴ Border of dots	868–*c.* 876
*18	Æ	5.55	21	↑			

17a.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, T. —, R. 1856–57, Oreshnikov —
17a.2 Whittemore
17a.3 Schindler 1960 from Egger 1916
17c Schindler 1960
W. 36–37, T. 20, R. —, Oreshnikov 19
18 Peirce 1948
W. —, T. —, R. —, Oreshnikov 61–62 (as Basil II and Constantine VIII)
The pellets in the field are very faint on our specimens, but can be clearly seen in Oreshnikov's illustrations.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class 3		
			Basil and Constantine		*c.* 876–879
			ß To l., K To r., ω Border of dots	Cross on base and two steps. To l. and r., pellet. Border of dots	
*19.1	Æ 10.84	24 ↑			
19.2	Æ 8.54	23 ↑			
			Class 4		
			Basil alone		
			ß Linear border	Cross crosslet on base and two steps. To l. and r., pellet. Linear border	879–886
			(a) No symbol in obv. field		
20a.1	Æ 6.26	19 ↑			
20a.2	Æ 5.05	18 ↑			
*20a.3	Æ 4.46 broken	21 ↑			
20a.4	Æ 4.35	20 ↖			

19.1 Peirce 1948
W. 38, T. —, R. —, Oreshnikov 23
The ends of the arms of the cross on coins of this class are slightly swollen ("cross pommée"), and it may have been intended as a cross crosslet, but all detail has been obscured by the casting.

19.2 Whittemore

20 On this class the cross is definitely a cross crosslet, i.e., a cross with a short transverse bar near the end of each arm, though the detail is often not clear. The lower loop of the B sometimes assumes the form of a *delta*, perhaps intended as a monogram of βασιλεὺς δεσπότης.

20a.1 Schindler 1960 from Egger 1914
W. 34, T. 14–17, R. 1852–54, Oreshnikov 20–21

20a.2 Schindler 1960

20a.3 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928

20a.4 Schindler 1960

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
20a.5	Æ	4.32	20	↑			879–886
20a.6	Æ	3.97	17	↑			
20a.7	Æ	3.13	18	↑			
20a.8	Æ	2.73	16	↑			
*20a.9	Æ	2.61	17	↑			
20a.10	Æ	1.75	17	↖			
					(b) Pellet to l. and r. on obv.		
*20b.1	Æ	3.90	18	↑			
*20b.2	Æ	3.60	17	↑			
*20b.3	Æ	2.51	17	↑			
20b.4	Æ	2.28	17	↑			

20a.5 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
20a.6 Schindler 1960
20a.7 Whittemore
20a.8 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
This has the Ꞗ form characteristic of Class 4b, but there does not seem to be a pellet on either side of the letter. The whole impression is so faint, however, that the coin may in fact belong to Class 4b.
20a.9 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
20a.10 Swiss Collection 1956
Letter form Ꞗ, as No. 20a.8, but no trace of pellets
20b All these coins have a triangular lower loop to the B, forming a BΔ monogram (Ꞗ).
20b.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 35, T. 18, R. 1855, Oreshnikov 22
20b.2 Whittemore
20b.3 Schindler 1960
20b.4 Swiss Collection 1956

LEO VI the Wise

29 August 886 – 11 May 912

Titular Augustus from 6 January 870

Colleagues: Alexander (from Sept./Nov. 879)
Constantine VII (from 15 May 908)

Leo VI had been associated on the throne by his father in 870, so that his succession in 886 occasioned no difficulty. In theory he was associated with his younger brother Alexander, and the unsatisfactory relations between them took second place only to Leo's matrimonial troubles during his long reign. The new emperor seems to have believed that he was Michael III's son, not Basil's, for although in his funeral oration on the latter the outward decencies were preserved, almost his first act as effective ruler was to bring back Michael's body from its humble tomb at Chrysopolis and inter it with those of other emperors in the Church of the Holy Apostles. Alexander was kept in the background throughout the reign. But although the two brothers were frequently on bad terms, there is no evidence that Alexander was ever formally deprived of the crown, as Lambros and some other scholars have supposed.[1]

In 882 Leo was married by Basil to a lady named Theophano, sorely against his wishes, and his life was thenceforward dominated by his matrimonial difficulties. Theophano, who is venerated as a saint by the Greek Church, died in 897 without having provided her husband with an heir. Leo promptly married in turn his mistress Zoe (898) and Eudocia Baiana (900), but each died a year after her marriage, leaving the emperor still without a son. Third marriages were condemned both by canon law and by Leo's own legislation; fourth marriages were barely conceivable. But on 3 September 905[2] Leo had a son by his current mistress, Zoe Carbonopsina, and it was necessary to legalize the boy's position if the succession was to be assured. On 6 January 906 the patriarch agreed to the baptism of the child in Saint Sophia on condition that Leo separated from his mother. A few days later the emperor showed how little he cared for his undertakings by marrying Zoe and raising her to the dignity of Augusta. With papal assistance he managed to ride out the ensuing storm, and on 15 May 908 the three-year-old Constantine was crowned co-Augustus

[1] S. P. Lambros, "Leo und Alexander als Mitkaiser von Byzanz," *BZ*, 4 (1895), 92–8. For the contrary view, see Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (1956), 215, note 1, and sources there cited.

[2] That the month was September follows from the fact that Constantine's age, at the time of his death, was 54 years and 2 months (Jenkins in *DOP*, 19 [1965], 109). That the day was the 3rd is shown by an imperial horoscope published and discussed by David Pingree in Vol. 27 of *DOP*.

by his father.[3] Alexander, however, was still alive, so that when Leo died on 11 May 912,[4] Alexander and Constantine were jointly his successors.

Leo's coinage presents a number of puzzling features. The chief solidus type is one of Leo and Constantine VII, and so must have been struck between 908 and 912. Apart from it there is only a rare ceremonial coinage in the name of Leo alone, which means that during most of the reign no gold can have been struck at all. The folles, on the other hand, were all issued in the names of Leo and Alexander or of Leo alone; there are none of Leo and Constantine. The two mints were Constantinople and Cherson, the latter producing a local coinage and the products of Constantinople, which were stylistically very uniform, supplying the rest of the Empire. As under Basil I, however, there were half folles of rough fabric which at first sight seem to be provincial in character, but which should probably be ascribed to Constantinople.

Class I of the solidus, which is extremely rare, has on the obverse a facing bust of the Virgin *orans*, with the inscription +MARIA+. It was the first time that the Virgin had been shown on any Byzantine coin. The reverse has the facing bust of the emperor with a long beard, wearing a heavy crown and a chlamys with a richly decorated tablion. The revival of naturalistic portraiture was to influence the occasional issues of Constantine VII's reign, as well as much of the coinage of the eleventh century. There are two varieties of inscription, one with EN X'Ω and the spelling ROMΩN, the other, which is much commoner and has rather smaller lettering, with EN CRISTO and ROMEON. Class II has on the obverse a seated figure of Christ (Type 2), modified from that used on the solidi of Basil I, and on the reverse the standing figures of Leo and Constantine, each wearing a loros and holding a globus cruciger, supporting between them a patriarchal cross. The figures are purely conventional, Constantine being shown as a boy some fifteen years old when in fact he was only an infant, but the design as a whole is well balanced and successful. The same is true of the figure of Christ on the obverse. The proportions and details of the seated figure and the throne are much better rendered than had been those of the seated Christ on the coins of Basil. The folds of the clothing are depicted more realistically; the book on Christ's knee is held in place by his left hand clasping its outer edge. Only the position of the right hand remains clumsy; it protrudes above the sling of the cloak instead of being lifted high, as on the earlier representation, and faces inward in the characteristic gesture of the Christ Pantocrator. The icon represented must in fact be different from that of Basil's coins. Bellinger has suggested that it might be the seated Christ of the narthex of Saint Sophia,[5] which if correct would provide an identification for the kneeling emperor

[3] The date 9 June 911 given by most modern scholars is incorrect. Theophanes Continuatus (Bonn ed., 375) and other versions of the Logothete's chronicle state that it occurred on Whitsunday, and the Pseudo-Symeon (Bonn ed., 711) gives it as Leo's 25th year, i.e., 911, when Whitsunday fell on 9 June. But the Pseudo-Symeon's dates are notoriously unreliable, the coins of the joint reign of Leo and Constantine are too common for an issue of only eleven months, and the dating formulae of Italian charters make it clear that the year was 908, when Whitsunday fell on 15 May. See P. Grierson and R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Date of Constantine VII's Coronation," *Byzantion*, 32 (1962), 133–8.

[4] Theoph. Cont., 377.

[5] "Byzantine Notes, 6. The Coins of Constantine Porphyrogennetus and his Associates," *MN*, 13 (1967), 152–3. He had originally made this suggestion to J. D. Breckenridge in connection with the latter's study of the coinage of Justinian II (*The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II*, 56, note 47).

in the mosaic, but the gestures of benediction are different in the two cases. No doubt the coin represents one of the great mosaics completed in the late ninth century, but we have no evidence as to which it may have been.

The date of Class II, which is common, offers no problems; it must have been struck between 908 and 912. The rarity and the unusual type of Class I are equally difficult to explain. Wroth was inclined to regard the coin as representing a special issue struck by Leo at his "coronation," by which, presumably, he meant his accession as μέγας βασιλεύς, for Leo had been crowned as a child and would not have been crowned again in 886. The objection to this, as Wroth recognized, is that the portrait on the coins is that of a much older man, and while conventional portraits took little account of age, a characterized portrait could scarcely turn a youth of twenty into a long-bearded sage in his forties or fifties. Lambros argued that the coins were late, but, while this is almost certainly the case, his reasoning will not bear examination, since he believed that Leo ceased to regard Alexander as joint emperor in *c.*904 and that all coins in Leo's name alone were subsequent to this date. Probably the coin was struck on the occasion of some ceremony or event in which a church or image of the Virgin played a prominent role, but none of our sources throw any light on what this may have been. Leo's first wife, St. Theophano, died at Blachernae, the most prominent shrine of the Virgin in the city, and his mistress Zoe was miraculously healed of diabolic possession by the girdle of the Virgin in the church of the Chalcoprateia,[6] but it seems unlikely that either of these circumstances would have provided the occasion for the coin. The completion of one of the several churches begun by Basil I and dedicated to the Virgin may possibly be the answer, but for the moment the date and circumstances of the issue of the coin must be left an open question.[7] All one can say is that it probably belongs to the later years of the reign.

This in effect means that in the first two decades of Leo's reign, between 886 and 908, no solidi were struck at all. Why this should have been so is difficult to understand; gold does not seem to have been in short supply, and one would have expected that Leo, denied any place on the solidus during Basil's reign, would have seized the earliest possible opportunity of minting in his own name. Whatever the reason, however, it would seem that the interruption in the issue of gold is the explanation of a curious piece of legislation which dates from his reign. The regular melting and reminting of the coin brought to the treasury in the form of taxes ensured that the gold coinage was, in normal times, regularly renewed, and it seems that in addition some emperors formally demonetized the coins of their predecessors, though the mixed character of coin hoards suggests that this can only have been very occasionally done or was in practice ineffective. It would

[6] R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin*, Pt. I, Vol. III (Paris, 1953), 172, 248, 253–4.

[7] There is no need to discuss Adrien Blanchet's theory that the coin was a *Denkmünze* struck by Constantine VII, at the same date (945) as his own portrait coins, and not one of Leo VI's reign at all ("L'influence artistique de Constantin Porphyrogénète," *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, I [= *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, 9 (Brussels, 1949)], 97–104.) This, as Bellinger has pointed out, can be excluded on epigraphical grounds ("Byzantine Notes, 5. Three Imperial Portraits," *MN*, 13 [1967], 141–8). The letters of the coin inscriptions in the mid-tenth century are so small and badly formed as to be barely legible, while those on Leo's coin are large and clear, as was normal on all gold coinage before the late 920's.

raise difficulties for merchants and tax-collectors, however, when no gold coins of a reigning emperor existed at all; so it is not surprising that Leo sharply condemned the practice, ordering that coins of all emperors, provided they were genuine and of the proper weight and fineness, should pass current at the same rate.[8]

Leo's miliaresia are common and present no difficulties. Class I, in the name of Leo alone, can be dated 886–908; Class II, in those of Leo and Constantine, belongs to 908–12. The coins differ from their predecessors in minor particulars: Leo VI, and subsequently his son, assume for the first time on the coins the title *eusebes*, which replaces the *pistos* of Theophilus, Michael, and Basil, and Leo terms himself emperor ЄΠ X·Ѡ instead of ЄC ΘЄЧ, the traditional formula of the Isaurian and Amorian periods. The middle of the three outer circles of dots which forms the border on the obverse is decorated with eight large globules. These are presumably imitated from those on the Abbasid dirhem, but at the same time represent a development of the four pellets which had marked the innermost border of dots on the miliaresia of Basil I.

Two classes of follis were struck in the name of Leo VI alone and one in those of Leo and Alexander. The order of issue is uncertain; it could be satisfactorily established only on the basis of hoards, overstrikes, or mules, and no positive evidence regarding any of these seems to be available. The coins of two of the classes are very common, and they all tend to be found in good condition. The coins with the bust of Leo, which are novel in design and were the only one of the three types to be imitated under Constantine VII, notably on a ceremonial issue of Christopher which can be assigned to 921 (below, Pl. XXXVIII.24), should almost certainly be placed last, but it is difficult to establish the order of the other two classes. Both are identical with types issued under Basil I, and it seems most natural to put first the type with Leo enthroned, which is much rarer than the other, on the ground that this continues what appears to be the last of Basil's issues. Leo would thus have first shown himself alone on his coinage,[9] but subsequently, lacking an heir, would have reconciled himself to the admission of Alexander as a colleague. It could on the other hand be argued that at first Leo would have had to accept his brother as co-Augustus, in accordance with Basil's wishes, and only after he had been on the throne for a few years would he have felt strong enough to eliminate Alexander from the coinage. This would put first the type with two seated figures, an order supported by three facts: that all half folles are of a type which presupposes the existence of this class of follis; that a small hoard of eleven coins found at Bratimir in 1957 seems to have included only those types with Leo alone, which suggests that these were consecutive issues;[10] and that the two types with Leo alone have identical reverse inscriptions. The evidence

[8] *Les Novelles de Léon VI, le Sage*, ed. P. Noailles and A. Dain (Paris, 1944), 199–201, No. 52. The "legislation" of previous emperors, to which Leo alludes, is unknown, and I suspect that he may have had in mind some particular edict, now lost, of Basil I. There is no evidence that Byzantine gold coins were normally demonetized. In commenting on Novel 52 in my "Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire," 423–4, I somewhat misinterpreted its terms, assuming that it was directed against value differentials made by merchants and not formal demonetizations by government edict.

[9] Wroth suggests a connection between Leo's "coronation" and the folles with a seated figure, but Leo, as has been pointed out already, was crowned in 870, not in 886.

[10] T. Gerasimov, "Kolektivni nakhodki ot moneti prez 1956 i 1957 g.," *Izvestiya na Arkheologicheskiya Institut*, 22 (1959), 361.

either way, however, is quite inconclusive, and the sequence given in the catalogue, that of a short seated-figure issue followed by much lengthier issues of Leo and Alexander and of Leo alone, cannot be regarded as other than hypothetical. The dates proposed are based on rough estimates of the comparative rarity of the coins, and not too much weight can be attached to them.

The half folles are a problem to themselves. Their obverse type consists of the two busts of Leo and Alexander holding a labarum, but the "busts" are in fact the upper parts of two seated figures, like those of Class 2 of the follis; one can sometimes see elements of the upper part of the throne to the left or right. On the reverse is an inscription in four lines. The reverses are sometimes struck with dies intended for the denomination, *c.* 17 mm. in diameter, but often a follis die has been used instead, the letters being large and parts of the inscription consequently off flan. The obverse dies, on the other hand, have always been made for the denomination; this is clear from the position at which the inscription begins and the fact that the seated figures ordinarily wear a traditional loros, while on the corresponding folles they always wear a modified one. The untidy fabric and inferior design of the coins suggest that they are from a provincial mint, though Wroth treated them as Constantinopolitan. Mr. Bellinger, in the first draft of this Catalogue, classified them as provincial, and I was originally of the same opinion. The fact that some of them were struck with follis reverse dies seems to rule this out, and I would now treat them as Constantinopolitan, though the work of less skilful craftsmen than were employed for the folles.

The coinage of Cherson under Leo VI is interesting mainly because it saw the introduction of a type with facing bust, presumably suggested by the unusual solidus type from Constantinople, which was to continue into the reign of Constantine VII. There are coins with the first two letters of Leo's own name (ΛΕ) and with the initials of Leo and Alexander (ΛΑ), but the order of issue is quite uncertain.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			SOLIDUS		
			Class I		
			Leo VI alone		
			(a) With ЄΠ X·Ѡ		
			+MARIA+ Bust of the Virgin facing, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion. In field l., $\overline{\text{MP}}$; r., $\overline{\text{ΘY}}$	LEONЄΠX·Ѡ bASILЄ YSROMΩΠ Bust of Leo VI facing, with long beard, wearing chlamys with elaborate tablion and crown with cross composed of four pellets. In r. hand, globus surmounted by patriarchal cross	886–908
*1a	Ꞗ 4.31	20 ↓			
			(b) With ЄΠ CRISƷO		
			Same inscr. and type	LEONЄΠCRISƷO bAS ILEYSROMEOΠ Same type	
1b.1	Ꞗ 4.37	20 ↙			
*1b.2	Ꞗ 4.25	20 ↓	Same die as 1b.1	Same die as 1b.1	
1b.3	Ꞗ 4.22 plugged	19 ↙			

1a Schindler 1960 from Egger 10. ii. 16
W. 1, R. —
1b.1 Peirce 1948
W. p. 445, R. 1869
1b.2 Whittemore
1b.3 Whittemore
R. 1869 This coin

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
			Leo VI and Constantine VII		
			+IhSXPSREX REϹNA NTIYM Christ seated (Type Ib) facing, bearded, on wide lyre-backed throne, wearing tunic and himation, r. hand blessing outwards in sling of himation, l. hand holding book (by spine) on knee	LEONETCONSƆANƆ' AYϹϹ'ROM' To l., Leo VI standing facing, with short beard, holding gl. cr. in r. hand. To r., smaller Constantine VII standing facing, beardless, with gl. cr. in l. Each wears crown with cross, and loros with the fringed end ornamented by ⁜ and falling over Leo's r. arm and Constantine's l. Between them they hold long patriarchal cross	908–912
2.1	Ꞗ 4.43	22 ↓	Λ for A		
2.2	Ꞗ 4.36	21 ↙			
*2.3	Ꞗ 4.36	21 ↓			
2.4	Ꞗ 4.35	21 ↓			
2.5	Ꞗ 4.26 clipped	20 ↙			
2.6	Ꞗ 4.20 clipped	19 ↙			

2.1 Whittemore
W. 2–3, R. 1879–80
2.2 Whittemore
2.3 Peirce 1948 from Spink viii. 28
2.4 Peirce 1948 from Ars Classica Sale XII, 18. x. 26, lot 3072
2.5–8 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
2.7	Æ 4.18 clipped	20 ↙			908–912
2.8	Æ 3.92 worn and plugged	21 ↓			
			MILIARESION *Class I* Leo VI alone		
			+LEωn ENX·ωEV SEbHSbASI LEVSRω MAIωn Three borders of dots, the central one ornamented with eight globules	IhSYSXRI STYShICA Cross potent on base and three steps. Beneath, globus. Three borders of dots	886–908
*3.1	Æ 3.00 pierced	24 ↗			
*3.2	Æ 2.88	24 ↗			
3.3	Æ 2.76	23 ↗			
3.4	Æ 2.65	25 ↗			
3.5	Æ 2.49	23 ↑			

3.1 Schindler 1960 from Egger 17. xii. 12
W. 4–5, R. 1870–1
3.2 Peirce 1948 from Fürstenberg Sale, lot 1681
3.3 Peirce 1948
3.4 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
3.5 Peirce 1948 from Ratto sale iii. 28 (Morconi collection)

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
			Leo VI and Constantine VII		
			+LEONCE CONSTANTI N'ENX·ωEV SEbISbASI LI'ROM' Three borders of dots, the central one ornamented with eight globules	Same inscr. and type	908–912
4.1	Æ 2.96	25 ↗			
4.2	Æ 2.94	24 ↑			
*4.3	Æ 2.87	25 ↗			
4.4	Æ 2.83	24 ↗			
4.5	Æ 2.72	24 ↖			
4.6	Æ 2.68	26 ↗			
4.7	Æ 2.60	24 ↗			
4.8	Æ 2.52 chipped	25 ↑			
			COPPER		
			Class 1		
			FOLLIS		
			Leo VI alone		
			+LEONbA S ILEVSR OM' ✱ Leo VI, with short beard, seated facing on lyre-backed throne, wearing modified loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, labarum, l. rests on lap	+LEON ENΘEObA SILEVSR OMEON	886–912

4.1 Peirce 1948
W. 6, R. 1881
4.2 Whittemore
4.3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
4.4–7 Whittemore
4.8 Schindler 1960 from Egger 6. iii. 17

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*5.1	Æ	8.98	26	↙			886–912
5.2	Æ	7.75	26	↓			
*5.3	Æ	7.36	26	↓			
*5.4	Æ	6.65	26	↘			
5.5	Æ	6.42	26	↙			
*5.6	Æ	6.38	26	↘			
5.7	Æ	6.30	26	↘			
*5.8	Æ	6.01	25	↓			
					Class 2		
					Leo VI and Alexander		
					FOLLIS		
					+LEON SALEXAN 6ROS To l., figure of Leo VI, with short beard; to r., shorter figure of Alexander, beardless. Both seated facing on double throne, wearing modified loros and crown with cross. Between them they hold labarum with r., Alexander holds akakia in l.	+LEON SALEXAN 6ROSbASIL' ROMEON	

5.1 Whittemore
W. 7, R. 1872
5.2 Whittemore
5.3 Peirce 1948
5.4 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vii. 28
5.5–6 Whittemore
5.7 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vii. 28
5.8 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. 1928
6, 8 Presumably the large number of these coins in the Whittemore Collection is to be explained by his having acquired parts of several hoards, but neither the color nor the incrustation of the coins allows one to reconstruct their composition or to say with any assurance which coins were found together.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
6.1	Æ	9.03	25	↙			886–912
6.2	Æ	8.92	27	↘			
*6.3	Æ	8.39	28	↓			
6.4	Æ	8.13	26	↙			
6.5	Æ	8.09	26	↘			
6.6	Æ	7.89	27	↓			
*6.7	Æ	7.69	29	↘			
6.8	Æ	7.53	27	↙			
6.9	Æ	7.34	26	↘			
6.10	Æ	7.24	26	↘			
6.11	Æ	6.94	27	↘			
6.12	Æ	6.88	27	↘			
6.13	Æ	6.77	26	↓			
6.14	Æ	6.71	27	↘			
6.15	Æ	6.54	25	↘			
6.16	Æ	6.49	25	↓			
6.17	Æ	6.32	27	↘			
*6.18	Æ	6.07	26	↙	σ for 6		
6.19	Æ	6.03	26	↓			
6.20	Æ	5.85	27	↓			
*6.21	Æ	5.69	26	↓			
6.22	Æ	5.29	26	↓			
6.23	Æ	4.96	25	↓			

6.1–2 Whittemore
W. 11–12, R. 1875
6.3 Peirce 1948
6.4–7 Whittemore
6.8 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vii. 28
6.9–11 Whittemore
6.12–13 Schindler 1960
6.14 Whittemore
6.15 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
6.16–17 Whittemore
6.18 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
6.19–20 Whittemore
6.21 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vii. 28
6.22–23 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					HALF FOLLIS		
					Inscription To l., seated bust of Leo VI facing, with short beard; to r., smaller seated bust of Alexander beardless, facing. Each wears loros and crown with cross. Between them they hold labarum	+LEON SALEXAN 6ROSbASIL ROMEON	886–912
					(a) Figures wear traditional loros		
*7a.1	Æ	3.98	19	↓	+[ ]ONSALE Top of throne visible to l.		
*7a.2	Æ	3.52	21	↓	]LEONSAL[	Follis die, all lines incomplete	
*7a.3	Æ	3.49	19	↓	]LEONSALEX[	Follis die, all lines incomplete	
					(b) Figures wear modified loros		
(7b)	Æ	5.33	19	↓	(BN)		
					Class 3		
					FOLLIS		
					+LEONbAS ILEVSR OM' Bust of Leo VI with short beard, facing, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. On r. shoulder, roundel with central pellet. In l. hand, akakia	+LEON ENΘEObA SILEVSR OMEON	

7a.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 13–15, R. 1877–8
7a.2 Swiss Collection 1956
7a.3 Schindler 1960 from G. Kaus 28. vi. 22

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
8.1	Æ 10.02	27 ↘			886–912
8.2	Æ 10.01	27 ↘			
8.3	Æ 9.77	28 ↘			
8.4	Æ 9.70	28 ↘			
8.5	Æ 9.21	27 ↙			
8.6	Æ 8.87	27 ↙			
8.7	Æ 8.72	28 ↘			
8.8	Æ 8.66	27 ↓			
8.9	Æ 8.56	27 ↓			
8.10	Æ 8.25	26 ↓			
	corroded				
8.11	Æ 8.19	27 ↓			
8.12	Æ 7.91	27 ↘			
8.13	Æ 7.89	27 ↙			
8.14	Æ 7.66	27 ↓			
8.15	Æ 7.60	28 ↓			
8.16	Æ 7.58	26 ↘			
*8.17	Æ 7.42	27 ↙			
8.18	Æ 7.37	26 ↓			
8.19	Æ 7.36	26 ↘			
8.20	Æ 7.36	27 ↙			
8.21	Æ 7.34	24 ↓			
8.22	Æ 7.33	26 ↓			
*8.23	Æ 7.30	27 ↘			
8.24	Æ 7.23	28 ↘			
8.25	Æ 7.16	27 ↘			
8.26	Æ 7.13	26 ↘			

8.1–5 Whittemore
W. 8–9, R. 1873
8.6 Peirce 1948
8.7 Whittemore
8.8 Schindler 1960
8.9–14 Whittemore
8.15 Schindler 1960
8.16–22 Whittemore
8.23 Peirce 1948
8.24 Whittemore
8.25 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
8.26–9 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
8.27	Æ	7.06	27	↘			886–912
8.28	Æ	6.98	28	↙			
8.29	Æ	6.90	27	↙			
8.30	Æ	6.88	27	↘			
8.31	Æ	6.82	26	↘			
*8.32	Æ	6.77	26	↘			
8.33	Æ	6.76	27	↘			
8.34	Æ	6.72	27	↙			
8.35	Æ	6.60	28	↓			
8.36	Æ	6.49	26	↙			
8.37	Æ	6.40	26	↘			
8.38	Æ	6.39	25	↓			
8.39	Æ	6.39	26	↓			
*8.40	Æ	6.39	26	↓			
8.41	Æ	6.30	25	↙			
8.42	Æ	6.28	26	↘			
8.43	Æ	6.19	26	↘			
8.44	Æ	6.15	26	↘			
8.45	Æ	6.13	26	↓			
*8.46	Æ	6.10	27	↓			
8.47	Æ	6.04	27	↓			
8.48	Æ	5.94	27	↙			
8.49	Æ	5.91	27	↙			
8.50	Æ	5.91	26	↘			
8.51	Æ	5.87	27	↓			
8.52	Æ	5.73	26	↘			
8.53	Æ	5.68	26	↘			
		badly corroded					
8.54	Æ	5.67	24	↘			

8.30 Friend 1957
8.31 Whittemore
8.32 Peirce 1948
8.33–42 Whittemore
8.43 Schindler 1960
8.44–6 Whittemore
8.47 Peirce 1948
8.48–54 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
8.55	Æ 5.63	29 ↘			886–912
8.56	Æ 5.58	27 ↙			
8.57	Æ 5.52	26 ↓			
8.58	Æ 5.26	27 ↘			
8.59	Æ 5.14	25 ↓			
8.60	Æ 5.02	26 ↓	Ends LVSROM	P for b	
8.61	Æ 4.17	26 ↙			
8.62	Æ 4.05	17 ↘			
	cut down				
8.63	Æ 3.97	23 ↙			
			Cherson		
			Leo VI alone		
			Class 1		
			Λ Є	Cross on base and two steps, with crosslets at extremities. To l. and r., pellet	
*9.1	Æ 2.95	18 ↖			
9.2	Æ 2.59	16 →			
9.3	Æ 2.57	17 →			
9.4	Æ 2.38	18 →			

8.55 Schindler 1960
8.56–61 Whittemore
8.62 Whittemore
Cf. R. 1874
8.63 Whittemore
9.1 Shaw 1947
W. 16, R. —, Oreshnikov 25–6
For this and the next three classes I include references to A. V. Oreshnikov, "Khersonovizantiiskiya moneti," *Trudi Moskovskago numizmaticheskago obshchestva*, 3 (1905), 359–73.
9.2 Swiss Collection 1956
9.3 Schindler 1960 from Egger 1916
9.4 Peirce 1948

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class 2		
			Bust of Leo VI bearded, facing, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In l. hand, akakia	Patriarchal cross. To l., Λ To r., Є	886–912
*10.1	Æ 3.11	16 ↑			
10.2	Æ 2.51 chipped	18 ↑			
			Leo VI and Alexander		
			Class 3		
			Λ ⅄	Cross on base and two steps with crosslets at extremities. To l. and r., pellet	
*11	Æ 3.06	17 ↑			
			Class 4		
			Patriarchal cross. To l., Λ To r., ⅄	Same	
*12.1	Æ 3.33	19 ↗			
*12.2	Æ 3.20	18 ↑			
*12.3	Æ 2.85	16 ↑		Plain cross, one step only	

10.1 Peirce 1948
W. p. 448, R. —, Or. 24
10.2 Schindler 1960 from Egger 1916
11 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 17, R. —, Or. 27–8
12.1 Whittemore
W. p. 448, R. —, Or. 29–30
12.2 Peirce 1948
12.3 Swiss Collection 1956
This corresponds to the variety illustrated by Oreshnikov, No. 30. They both appear to differ in fabric from the other Cherson coins, and their authenticity seems to me doubtful.

ALEXANDER

11 May 912 – 6 June 913

Nominally since Sept./Nov. 879

Colleague: Constantine VII

On Leo VI's death Alexander was left as senior Augustus, his nephew Constantine being a boy of seven. The reign, happily for the Empire, was to be a short one. For nearly forty years Alexander had been kept in the background, devoting his time to hunting, debauchery, and detesting his brother. Now that he was in a position to have his revenge he seized the opportunity with both hands. Leo VI's advisers and officials, from the patriarch downward, lost their positions. The Empress Zoe was expelled from the palace and forced to become a nun. Alexander is reputed to have seriously considered deposing and mutilating his nephew, replacing him as co-emperor by one of his favorites. But before anything came of this scheme he broke a blood vessel, as a result of playing a ball game too violently on top of a heavy meal, and died two days afterward, on Sunday, 6 July 913.[1] His final act of spite, on his deathbed, was to set up a Council of Regency for Constantine from which the boy's mother was pointedly excluded.

Alexander's coins are extremely rare. No copper of Constantinople is known at all, though it is difficult to believe that no coins were struck, and only two specimens of his miliaresion and about a dozen solidi have been recorded. They are nonetheless of considerable importance. Alexander was the first emperor to use a full-length representation of an imperial coronation as a coin type, and the first to have an effigy of a saint (St. Alexander), other than the Virgin, on his coins. He was the first to modify the traditional pattern of the miliaresion; the medallion with the bust of Christ which he placed at the intersection of the arms of the cross was the forerunner of those in which later emperors inserted their own effigies. Finally, Alexander was the first to use on the coins the title of *autocrator* reserved for the senior emperor, a position which for he had had to wait for so long. None of his coins makes any allusion to the existence of Constantine VII.

[1] Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., 380.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			SOLIDUS		
			Class I (pattern)		
*1	B 4.11 traces of gilding	19 ↓	IhSYSX RISTOS Bust of Christ (Type VIIa) facing, bearded, with cross behind head, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, book held (from beneath) in l.	ALEXANdROSAVSYS TOSROM' Bust facing, wearing chlamys with tablion and crown with trefoil ornament; in r. hand, gl. cr.	912–913
			Class II		
			+IhSXRSREX REGNA NTIYM Christ seated (Type Ic) facing, bearded, on wide lyre-backed throne, wearing tunic and himation, r. hand raised outwards in blessing, book resting on l. knee	+ALEXANd ROSAVS YSTOSROM' To l., Alexander standing facing, bearded, wearing crown with cross and loros with fringed end passing over r. arm and ornamented by ⁜ In r. hand, gl. cr.; l. hand extended. To r., St. Alexander standing 3/4 facing, bearded, bareheaded and barefooted, wearing tunic and himation. In l. hand, cross; with r. hand places crown on head of Alexander	

1 Bank Leu 13. i. 64
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*2.1	AV 4.48	22 ↓			912–913
*2.2	AV 4.32 plugged	21 ↓		Same die as 2.1	
			MILIARESION		
			IhSYSXRI STYSΠICA Cross potent on base and three steps. At intersection, medallion with bust of Christ, bearded. Beneath, globus. Three borders of dots	+ALEX AΠdROSEΠ X·ωAYTOCR, PISTOSEY SEb,bASI L,ROM, Three borders of dots, the central one ornamented with eight globules	
*3	AR 3.04	26 ↖			
			Cherson		
*(4)	AE	14	A̅ (W. p. 450, note 1)	M̊X	

2.1 Peirce 1948 from Raymond iv. 32
W. 1, R. —
The inscription is normally broken, but on a specimen in a Hess-Bank Leu sale, 16. iv. 57, lot 432, the standing figures are smaller than usual and the inscription is unbroken.

2.2 Whittemore

3 Whittemore acq. in Bulgaria
W. —, R. 1882
This specimen was published by A. N. Mouchmov, "Une monnaie d'argent de l'empereur Alexandre," *Byzantion*, 6 (1931), 99–100. He correctly describes the bust in the medallion as being that of Christ; Ratto was mistaken in supposing it to be that of the emperor.

(4) The coin cited by Wroth and illustrated here is taken from A. V. Oreshnikov, "Khersonovizantiiskiya moneti," *Trudi Moskovskago numizmaticheskago obshchestva*, 3 (1905), Pl. IX. 31. A stands for Ἀλέξανδρος, M̊X for Πόλις Χερσῶνος.

CONSTANTINE VII Porphyrogenitus[1]

6 June 913 – 9 November 959

Formally Augustus from 15 May 908

Colleagues: Zoe, his mother (Regent February 914 – March 919)
Romanus I Lecapenus (17 December 920 – 16 December 944)
Christopher (20 May 921 – August 931)
Stephen } (25 December 924 – 27 January 945)
Constantine }
Romanus II (6 April 945 onward)

The coinage of Constantine VII's long reign, which is varied and for the most part common, can be understood only in the light of the dynastic complications created by the rise of Romanus Lecapenus. Constantine was only an infant when his uncle Alexander died, so that a regency was inevitable. He had not quite attained his legal majority when power was seized by Romanus Lecapenus, the admiral of the fleet, who married him to his daughter Helena and had himself crowned co-Augustus. Constantine's poor health, retiring disposition, and scholarly and artistic preoccupations made it an easy matter for Romanus to push him aside and promote his own family. His eldest son Christopher was added as co-Augustus in 921 and two further sons, Stephen and Constantine, were crowned in 924. Christopher died in 931, to his father's intense grief. We are told that he shed floods of tears "like the Egyptians" after the death of their firstborn, and during the thirties he devoted himself more and more to religion, evidently caring little for the future of his younger sons. The natural result was that Stephen and Constantine conspired against their father and deposed him (December 944), only to be themselves overthrown, a month later, by a dynastic reaction in favor of Constantine VII. Finally, after a brief period of sole rule, Constantine raised his own son Romanus II to imperial rank, and the two were nominal colleagues down to 959.

This pattern of dynastic change was further complicated by the maneuverings for precedence between the members of the Lecapenus family and the unhappy Constantine VII. These are known to us both from the chroniclers and from the formulae of legal

[1] See S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign* (Cambridge, 1929), in addition to the accounts in Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State* and other standard works of reference. The chief original authority is the chronicle of Symeon "the Logothete," who continued Theophanes and whose work has survived in various versions: the continuator of George the Monk, the chronicle of Leo Grammaticus, the chronicle known as Theophanes Continuatus, etc. In the paragraphs that follow only a single reference is normally given for each event, since although the chronicles may vary slightly in their wording and degree of detail they usually go back to a common source.

documents; they are also in part reflected in the coinage, though not to the extent that some scholars have assumed. The numismatic evidence is in fact difficult to interpret, for the solidi, miliaresia, and folles were not regarded as coins of equal importance and were used for purposes of dynastic propaganda in different ways. In addition to the regular denominations, account must be taken of a number of patterns, in silver or copper, of coins that were never formally struck. The sequence and occasions of issue are difficult to make out, and despite the analysis of the coinage by Wroth and subsequent studies by Goodacre and Bellinger[2] there are a number of points which still require discussion.

The chief events of the reign, in so far as they are likely to have affected the coinage, may be summarized as follows:

913, 6 June	Death of Alexander, who had appointed a board of seven regents, presided over by the Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus.[3] The Empress Zoe is expelled from the palace and compelled to take the veil.[4]
914, February	Zoe recovers the regency "after eight months,"[5] and continues to exercise it, under ever-increasing difficulties, to 919. The rivals for power were by then Leo Phocas, commander of the army, and Romanus Lecapenus, admiral of the fleet.
919, 25 March	Romanus enters Constantinople and is appointed Commander of the Palace Guard.[6]
4 May	Romanus consolidates his position by marrying his daughter Helena to Constantine, now nearly fourteen years of age, receiving thereby the title Basileopator.[7]
920, August	Zoe finally relegated to a monastery on the charge of having conspired to poison Romanus.[8]
24 September	Romanus is created Caesar.[9]
17 December	Romanus crowned Augustus.[10]

[2] Wroth, pp. xlviii–xlix, 451 ff.; H. Goodacre, "The Story of Constantine VII, Porphyrogenitus, from his Solidi," *NC*[5], 15 (1935), 114–19; A. R. Bellinger, "Byzantine Notes, 6. The Coins of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his Associates," *MN*, 13 (1967), 148–66.

[3] Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., 380.

[4] *Vita Euthymii*, xxi. 6–7 (ed. C. de Boor [Berlin, 1888], 70–1).

[5] The *Vita Euthymii*, xxi. 10 (p. 71), gives the date of Nicholas' return to Saint Sophia ἦν πρὸ ὀκτὼ μησῶν οὐκ ἐθεάσατο. Cf. V. Grumel, *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, I, fasc. 2 (Istanbul, 1936), No. 650. The Patriarch had to give a written undertaking to recognize Constantine and Zoe as joint Augusti in the liturgy.

[6] Theoph. Cont., 394.

[7] *Ibid.*, 394–5.

[8] *Ibid.*, 397.

[9] *Loc. cit.* The event is placed by the chroniclers in the eighth indiction, i.e., in 919, but as with the date of Romanus' imperial coronation it has to be moved to 920 (see next note). The wording of the *Tomus unionis* of the council which met to settle the schism arising out of Leo VI's four marriages proves that Romanus was still only Basileopator in July 920 (Mansi, *Concilia*, XVIII. 336). In 920 the 24th of September also fell on a Sunday, which was the normal day for coronations.

[10] Theoph. Cont., 397–8: on the 17th, the Sunday "of the ancestors" (of Christ). It was V. Grumel who first pointed out that the year must be 920, not 919 ("Notes de chronologie byzantine: II. La date de l'avènement à l'empire de Romain Ier Lécapène," *Echos d'Orient*, 35 [1936], 333–5).

921, 6 January	Romanus crowns his wife Theodora as Augusta.[11]
March (?)	On the pretext of Constantine's poor health and in the hope of stifling conspiracies in the boy's favor, Romanus formally gives himself precedence over his nominal colleague.[12]
20 May	Romanus' son Christopher, who was fully adult—he had succeeded his father as Commander of the Palace Guard in 919 and had a daughter of marriagable age in 927—crowned Augustus by Constantine VII.[13]
921/924	Two chrysobulls known to us from an eleventh-century reference, and presumably antedating the coronation of Stephen and Constantine Lecapenus, since they do not mention them, give the order of precedence as Romanus–Christopher–Constantine.[14]
922, April	A novel of this date gives the order of precedence as Romanus–Constantine–Christopher.[15]
924, 25 December	Stephen and Constantine crowned co-Augusti by their father Romanus.[16]
927	Christopher's daughter Maria marries the Bulgarian Tsar Peter, who took umbrage at the fact that his father-in-law should be "third and most junior" in the imperial triumvirate and demanded that Christopher be promoted above Constantine.[17]
931, August	Death of Christopher.[18]
943	Romanus in his will formally lays down that Constantine VII is to retain precedence over his own two sons.[19]
944, 20 December	Romanus deposed by his sons, exiled to Prote, and tonsured.[20]
945, 27 January	Stephen and Constantine Lecapenus overthrown by Constantine VII, tonsured, and sent to join their father in exile.[21]

[11] Theoph. Cont., 398.

[12] *Ibid.*, 400–1.

[13] *Ibid.*, 398. This and other sources give the date as Pentecost, the 17th May, or in one case, the 24th. But Pentecost did not fall on the 17th till 935, or on the 24th till 929, while Christopher was certainly Augustus before April 922. The explanation must be that a few lines earlier the chronicler had recorded Romanus' coronation on 17 December, and accidentally repeated the day of the month.

[14] Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, I. 204; F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, I (Munich-Berlin, 1924), Nos. 593, 594.

[15] Zepos, I. 200; Dölger, II, No. 595.

[16] Theoph. Cont., 409.

[17] *Ibid.*, 414. The phrase "third and most junior" comes from Constantine's *De Administrando Imperio*, c. 13 (ed. Moravcsik and Jenkins [Washington, D. C., 1967], 74), which explicitly states of Christopher that he was "still subordinate and had no share of authority in matters of government."

[18] Theoph. Cont., 420.

[19] *Ibid.*, 435.

[20] *Ibid.*, 435–6. Of the downfall of Romanus and of his sons we have a lively account by Liutprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, v. 21–23 (in J. Bekker, *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona* [Hanover-Leipzig, 1915], 142–5).

[21] Theoph. Cont., 437–8.

6 April	Romanus II, Constantine's son by Helena and a boy of six, crowned co-Augustus by his father on Easter Day.[22]
959, 9 (?) November	Death of Constantine VII.[23]

It is into this complicated pattern of events that the coinage of Constantine's reign has to be fitted. Before setting out the arrangement followed in the catalogue, some comment on various general topics is required.

Patterns and degrees of rarity. The gold and silver coins vary enormously in rarity from one issue to another. These variations are helpful in dating the coins, but they have to be treated with some circumspection. A coin which is today common and in which die-linkages are rare must have been struck over a fairly long period of time. On the other hand, it is quite possible to have several rare types struck in a very short period of time, particularly where pattern coins are involved, the mint trying several experiments before a type received official approval. This happened in 921, in 931, and again in 945, when the coronations of Romanus I and Christopher, the death of Christopher, and the downfall of the Lecapeni, followed by the coronation of Romanus II, resulted in a very rapid succession of short-lived types.

Whether the unusual profusion of patterns and ceremonial issues was in part due to a personal interest in the coinage on the part of Constantine VII is a question we cannot answer. The emperor's love of art and his interest in the technical processes involved is vouched for in a famous passage by a contemporary writer.[24] But Constantine's portrait coins of 945 were preceded by Romanus I's equally remarkable gold and silver patterns of 931, and indeed by several unusual and striking coin designs of the reigns of Leo VI and Alexander. While not denying the possibility of Constantine's intervention, it seems best to attribute the high quality of several of the issues of his reign to the general cultural revival of the period, in which the artists and engravers at the mint no doubt played a part.

Protocol. The relative seniority of imperial colleagues could be shown in various ways: by the order of names in the inscriptions, by the arrangement of the imperial effigies, and by the presence or absence of a beard. On the coinage of Constantine VII's reign these indications are sometimes very irregularly used. On the solidi of Class VIII the order given by the inscription (Romanus, Constantine, Christopher) contradicts that of the type (Romanus, Christopher, Constantine), presumably so that Christopher's name should come above his standing figure. Logically this should also have involved an inversion of the names of Romanus and Constantine, but Romanus preferred to have his name first

[22] Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 325. The phrase τῆς αὐτῆς ἰνδικτιῶνος refers to the third indiction (i.e., 945) and not to the sixth (i.e., 948), which had been only casually referred to. See G. de Jerphanion, "La date du couronnement de Romain II," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, I (1935), 490–5. This had been already noted in passing by Ostrogorsky and Stein in *Byzantion*, 7 (1932), 197, note 3. Since Romanus was twenty-four years of age when he died on 15 March 963 (Cedrenus, II. 344), he must have been born in 939.

[23] Cedrenus, II. 337. This is the usually accepted date, but others are given in our sources (Theoph. Cont., 468–9, gives the 15th, the *Necrologium imperatorum* gives the 19th) and it is impossible to say which is correct. Cf. my "Tombs and Obits," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 58.

[24] Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., 450.

and this was not done.[25] On solidi of Class VI Constantine and Christopher are both shown bearded, presumably from a wish to conciliate the formal precedence of Constantine with Christopher's greater age and Romanus' desire to favor his own son. The main series of solidi struck in the 930's, after Christopher's death, gives formal precedence to Constantine, though legal texts show that at this period Romanus still retained the senior position for himself. It seems clear that while account has to be taken of the arrangement of the emperors on the coins, too much importance cannot be attached to it.

Three other elements in the coin designs have sometimes been assumed to involve questions of protocol, but were in fact independent of it. One is the relative sizes of the figures. This in reality depended on the relative ages of the persons involved. Zoe and Romanus I, on the solidi of Classes II and X respectively, are shown larger than Constantine simply because they are much older than he is, even though for technical reasons it is the younger person who occupies the senior position. The costumes of the various colleagues are also independent of protocol, for while the senior emperor generally wears a loros and the junior a chlamys, this rule is not invariable. On coins of Class II it is Constantine VII who occupies the place of honor and wears a chlamys; the costumes worn by Constantine and Zoe on their folles reverse those of their solidi;[26] on folles of Constantine and Romanus II both figures wear a loros. Finally, no particular significance can be attached to the way in which two colleagues hold a patriarchal cross, as they do on all the common solidus types of the reign. Sometimes they do so with their left hands, sometimes with their right, and while the senior emperor usually has his hand above that of his colleague, there are cases where his hand is below it, as on Classes II and X. Wroth drew attention to the first of these anomalies, but Bellinger is I think correct in regarding it as without significance.[27] In other reigns it was certainly a matter of indifference whether the senior emperor's hand was placed above or below that of his colleague[28].

Inscriptions and lettering. The content of the inscriptions requires little comment. *Autocrator* is used on Class I of the miliaresion and Classes XII and XIII of the solidus, but it was a part of the official title of a senior emperor and had already been used on the silver of Alexander. *Porphyrogenitus* is used by Constantine VII on Class VI of the miliaresion, evidently to emphasize the legitimate nature of his rule after the usurpation of the Lecapenus family. AYCC had come back into favor under Basil I and Leo VI, but is used with greater regularity under Constantine VII.

Epigraphical changes are of greater significance. On coins of all denominations there is a tendency for the letters to decrease in size, and in the gold, where they were small to start with, the decline goes so far as seriously to affect the legibility of the later issues.

[25] For a similar arrangement on a bulla of 931 see below, p. 532.

[26] Bellinger, *art. cit.*, 152 and note 31, regards Zoe's wearing of the chlamys as anomalous. This is not the case. Although ninth-century precedents had been in favor of the loros this was unconnected with any military implications of the chlamys, which was the coronation robe of an empress just as it was that of an emperor. Martina had always been shown wearing a chlamys on the coins of Heraclius, and the chlamys is the normal costume of empresses in ivories, mosaics, and other forms of art.

[27] Wroth, 452, note 2; Bellinger, *art. cit.*, 152.

[28] Above, pp. 113–14.

On coins of Constantine and Zoe, which date from between 914 and 919, and on some of those of Constantine and Romanus I, which can be dated to 921, the letters are large and reasonably well cut, and though the technique is sometimes curious,[29] it only continues that of previous reigns. On coins of Romanus I and Christopher, which belong to the decade 921–31, there is a transition from large to small lettering. On coins of Constantine VII and Romanus II, which belong to the last fourteen years of the reign, this contraction in size becomes very marked, the letters on the latest coins having been made with two or three small punches, so that they often do not have any recognizable form at all. The evolution is important for the dating of Class X of the solidi with the standing figures of Constantine and Romanus I. It shows that this must date from 931–44, and not 920–1, despite the contradiction which this creates between the coins and the written records over the relative position of the two colleagues.

Portraiture. Most of the coins of Constantine VII's reign have purely conventional portraits. The faces are sometimes triangular, sometimes long and pointed, but in either case they lack any individual features. The beards used to distinguish senior emperors from their junior colleagues are shown by thickened lines round the edges of the face, while the accompanying mustaches are short horizontal lines above the mouth. Leo VI's characterized portraiture, however, was imitated from time to time, most conspicuously on the solidi of Constantine VII struck in 945 but also on the folles of Romanus I and on this ruler's pattern solidi and miliaresia of 931.

The splendid portrait of Constantine VII, with its long, thin features and thoughtful, almost sad, expression, is the outstanding achievement of tenth-century coinage.[30] That it is a true likeness of the emperor is apparent from its resemblance to the portrait of Constantine on a famous ivory in Moscow[31] and on a not less remarkable ivory in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.[32] Blanchet suggested that the bearded head might have been suggested by the face of Christ on the Mandylion, the portrait "not made with hands" which was acquired by the emperor in 944 and which from early times had been the chief treasure of the Church of Edessa, but while this is unlikely—the faces are very different—it seems clear that Constantine's portrait served as the model for that of King Abgar of Edessa, to whom it was believed that the Mandylion had originally been sent, on an icon from Mount Sinai.[33]

The portraits of Romanus I are two in number. The earlier is that on his folles, which were struck from 921 onward. The face is broad, with a short nose, a short rounded beard,

[29] E.g., the way in which the letter O is made by two pellets punched at the top and bottom and joined by curved lines cut with a graver, that in which the loops of the R and b take the form of simple pellets, etc. See Introduction, p. 185.

[30] Cf. Bellinger, *art. cit.*, 141–8.

[31] D. Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium* (New York, 1959), Pl. 96. It has been often reproduced.

[32] K. Weitzmann, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, III. *Ivories and Steatites* (Washington, D.C., 1972), No. 25, pp. 58–60.

[33] A. Blanchet, "L'influence artistique de Constantin Porphyrogénète," *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* (= *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* [Brussels, 1949]), 97–104; K. Weitzmann, "The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogennetus," *Cahiers archéologiques*, 11 (1960), 163–84.

rather prominent eyes, a mustache with drooping ends, and a grave and rather stern expression. It is quite different from the stereotyped representation of the emperor on the gold of the same period, though it resembles that of the standing representation of Romanus on the coins of Class VIII. The other portrait is much more impressive: the beard is long, curling, and divided at the ends, the eyes wide apart, the features more deeply marked, the face older, the general effect one of mingled sternness and benignity. The largest representation in the coinage is on pattern miliaresia of Class IV, which are best assigned to 931, when Romanus was probably in his sixties,[34] but there is a rather smaller one on the pattern solidus of Class IX of the same year, when he appears side by side with Constantine VII, and a tiny one on the medallion at the intersection of the arms of the cross on the miliaresia of Class V, struck between 931 and 944. The same portrait is also used on a seal in the Whittemore Collection at the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts.[35] The emperor is there flanked by the much smaller and purely conventional effigies of Constantine VII and Stephen,[36] the omission of Christopher confirming the date 931 to which the pattern miliaresion and solidus are best assigned.

Simultaneous issues or sequences? One generally assumes, in dealing with Byzantine coins, that issues would have followed each other in succession, and that the same mint would not have struck coins of different types, or with the names and effigies of the same emperors differently arranged, at the same time. This is a good working rule, but some features of Constantine VII's coinage suggest that where pairs of types are closely related to each other they may have been issued not consecutively but simultaneously, either to gratify the amour-propre of one or another of the various co-emperors or for some other reason we cannot now hope to discover. Class III of the solidus would thus pair with Class IV, both of them being coins of Constantine VII and Romanus I, despite the change in the position and costume of the junior emperor, and Class V with Class VI, both of these being coins of Constantine VII, Romanus I, and Christopher. Such duplicating coinages are of occasional occurrence in numismatics—one may cite the coexistence of English and Scottish varieties of shilling in mid-twentieth-century Britain—and if similar arrangements could be postulated for tenth-century Byzantium one could better understand how several related classes of solidus seem to have been struck during quite short periods of time.

In only one of its many aspects does the coinage of Constantine VII's reign present no serious problems. There appear to have been no more than two mints, Constantinople and Cherson, and there is no difficulty in distinguishing between their products. There are also no fractional gold, silver, or copper coins; one has, in each metal, only a single denomination to deal with.

[34] Runciman, *op. cit.*, 63, dates his birth *c.*870, but there seems to be no positive evidence.

[35] V. Laurent, "Un portrait inédit de Romain Ier Lécapène," *Festschrift W. Sas-Zaloziecky zum 60. Geburtstag* (Graz, 1956), 102–8.

[36] So Laurent, but their very small size suggests that despite the order of the names the figures are really Romanus' sons Stephen and Constantine, Constantine VII being omitted and the names of the boys inverted so as to correspond with their relative positions on the coins. The arrangement would thus be parallel to that of the names and effigies of Romanus, Christopher, and Constantine VII on the solidi of Class VIII.

CONSTANTINOPLE

GOLD COINAGE. There are no solidi attributable to the period of the regency council headed by Nicholas Mysticus, but apart from this there are some dating from every period of the reign. The activity of the mint, however, was very irregular, solidi of Constantine's minority (914–21) being extremely rare, while those of Romanus I and Christopher (921–31) are amongst the commonest in the whole Byzantine series. The coinage can be divided into twelve classes, but patterns in other metals are known for at least three more and others may yet come to light. Since these patterns are of considerable iconographical interest they have been included in the list that follows. The figures in parentheses, following the class number, are those of the text of the catalogue.

Class I (No. 1). 914. Pattern only. Obv. Bust of the Virgin. Rev. Busts of Constantine and Zoe.

This remarkable coin, described in more detail on p. 541, was published by Veglery and Zacos.[37] It represents the first use on Byzantine coinage of an effigy of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ, differing in this respect from the bust of the Virgin on solidi of Leo VI, and the inscription reads from the obverse to the reverse of the coin. But the design was evidently not approved, and the solidi of Zoe's regency were those of Class II.

Class II (No. 2). 914–919. Obv. Seated figure of Christ, as on coins of Basil II. Rev. Busts of Constantine and Zoe.

The obverse type reverts to the design introduced by Basil II, representing the icon above the emperor's throne in the Chrysotriclinos. The coin is extremely rare, and one cannot exclude the possibility of its having been struck for only a brief period in 914, the issue of gold being then suspended until the 920's.

Class III (No. 3). 920–921. Obv. Seated Christ, as previous type. Rev. Busts of Constantine VII (beardless) and Romanus I (bearded), in that order.

The large lettering and the fact that Constantine is beardless and Romanus bearded show that this issue, which is very rare, represents Constantine VII and Romanus I. The two figures are the same size, this representing a concession on the part of Romanus, who had yet to consolidate his position in relation to his youthful colleague. The coin must have been struck during the winter of 920/1, before Romanus formally displaced Constantine as senior Augustus.

Class IV (No. 4). 921. Type as last, but the positions of Constantine and Romanus are reversed, and Constantine, who is shown as smaller than his colleague, wears a chlamys instead of a loros.

The large lettering shows the approximate date of this issue, which must have been struck before the association of Christopher on the throne, i.e., before May 921. Like Class III, it is very rare, having been issued for two or three months at most.

[37] A. Veglery and G. Zacos, "A Unique Silver Coin of Constantine VII," *N.Circ.*, 64 (1956), 379–80, 472. They subsequently published two broken lead "strikes," apparently from different dies, of the same type ("More About the Silver Coin of Constantine VII," *ibid.*, 65 [1957], 195–6). It is difficult to determine the nature of these lead pieces, which are now at Dumbarton Oaks. They have the general appearance of lead seals, but there is no hole through them, as there would be if they were bullae.

Class V (No. 5). 921. Obv. Romanus I crowned by Christ. Rev. Busts of Christopher (bearded) and Constantine (smaller and beardless), in that order.

The large lettering places this class very early in the reign of Christopher. This excludes the possibility of its having been issued after a change in Christopher's status had been effected in 927. Since it shows Constantine as beardless in relation to Christopher, it must be earlier than Class VI. It is also of extreme rarity. The most probable explanation of it is that Christopher on his coronation was given precedence over Constantine, but that this aroused so much disapproval that their relative positions had to be reversed.

Class VI (No. 6). 921. Obv. As last. Rev. Busts of Constantine and Christopher, in that order, both bearded and equal in size to each other.

The fact that both figures are shown bearded is sufficient in itself to show this issue to be abnormal in character. It must be interpreted as a compromise arrived at in a very difficult situation. Specimens are very rare, only a little less rare than are those of Class V, and the period of issue must have been very brief.

Class VII (No. 7). 921–931. Obv. Seated Christ, as on Classes II–IV. Rev. Busts of Romanus I (bearded) and Christopher (smaller and beardless) in that order.

The dispute over precedence between Constantine and Christopher was solved by the introduction of this class, which excluded Constantine from the gold coinage altogether and left only Romanus and Christopher, regarding whose mutual relationship no doubt could arise. This explains why Christopher is shown as beardless. The coins are exceedingly common and vary a good deal in appearance; on the earliest ones the lettering and the heads of the emperors are large, on the latest ones they are small.

Class VIII (No. 8). *c.*930. Obv. Seated Christ, of the type used on solidi of Leo VI with Constantine VII. Rev. Inscription giving the order of precedence Romanus I, Constantine VII, and Christopher, but type showing Romanus standing and the half-length figures of his colleagues, with the order of precedence Romanus (in the center, large, bearded), Christopher (to the right, bearded), and Constantine (to the left, beardless, and smaller than Christopher).

This issue is very rare, and its unusual type shows that it must have been issued on some special occasion. This is also indicated by its revival of an obverse type used on an equally decorative coin of Leo VI. The small lettering puts it late in Christopher's reign, but the occasion of its issue is unknown and the order of precedence, as between Christopher and Constantine, is deliberately left ambiguous. It is probably too late to be connected with the marriage of Christopher's daughter to the Bulgarian tsar in 927.

Class IX (No. 9). 931. Pattern only. Obv. Bust of Christ. Rev. Busts of Romanus I and Constantine VII in that order, Romanus having a long forked beard and Constantine being smaller and beardless.

The lettering shows that this coin belongs to the 930's, and it is natural to associate it with the redesigning of the coinage after the death of Christopher. There is a similar bust of Romanus on the pattern miliaresion assignable to the same occasion, the two denominations being also linked by their conspicuous border of globules.

Class X (No. 10). 931–944. Obv. Seated Christ, as on Class VIII but with hand turned inward. Rev. Standing figures of Constantine VII (beardless) and Romanus I (bearded), in that order, though Constantine is the smaller of the two.

This class had been a source of great difficulty, for the order of precedence would point to an early date and both Wroth and Bellinger assign it to the period before Christopher's coronation, i.e., to 920–1. The numismatic evidence, on the other hand, makes any date earlier than the 930's out of the question; the lettering is small, the coinage—the issue is fairly common—fills an otherwise inexplicable gap in minting between 931 and 944, and the seated Christ gives every appearance of being later than the still clumsy effigy employed on the coins of Class VIII. The objections to assigning the coin to the 930's are historical; our written records show that in this period Romanus, as was natural, took precedence over Constantine. But they equally admit that Romanus, more and more immersed in religion and with his spirit broken by Christopher's death, was dejected over the wrong he felt he had done Constantine and was anxious to make amends. It is also clear that the coinage could tolerate ambiguities, as on the solidi of Class VIII. I would therefore give preference to the numismatic evidence, as against that of the written sources, in dating the coins, and assign this issue to 931–44.

Class XI (No. 11). 945. Pattern only. Obv. Bust of Christ Pantocrator. Rev. Portrait bust of Constantine VII, with long beard, wearing chlamys and holding a globus surmounted by a patriarchal cross.

There is general agreement that the solidi showing a likeness of Constantine, with long beard, belong to the few months of his sole reign in 945, though, since one variety is moderately common, it may have carried on a little longer; there is no need to suppose that the coinage of Constantine VII and Romanus II started immediately upon the latter's coronation. Class XI is known only as a pattern, represented by a single specimen at Leningrad. Constantine's costume is modeled very closely on the comparable coin of Leo VI, but his crown, unlike that of Leo, is furnished with pendilia.

Class XII (No. 12). 945. Similar, but Constantine wears a modified loros of square pattern and holds an akakia in his left hand.

The only specimen of this which is known to me is that catalogued below, No. 12. It evidently represents one of several designs produced for Constantine's portrait coinage.

Class XIII (No. 13). 945. As Class XII, but Constantine's left hand is not shown, so that there is no akakia. The cross on the nimbus of Christ is decorated with pellets, while on Class XII it had been plain.

The type represents the main issue of Constantine's sole reign.

Class XIV (No. 14). 945. Obv. Seated Christ, as on Class X. Rev. Busts of Constantine VII (bearded) and Romanus II (smaller and beardless) in that order.

This class has been the cause of quite unnecessary confusion. Wroth (No. 8), Goodacre (No. 5), and Bellinger (No. 7) all assign it to Constantine VII and Romanus I, despite the fact that Constantine is bearded and Romanus beardless and that the type of seated Christ used on this coin belongs to the later years of the reign. The small lettering is in any case decisive for the period of issue. The type is very rare, and must represent a short-lived trial issue almost immediately replaced by that with a bust of Christ.

Class XV (No. 15). 945–959. Obv. Bust of Christ Pantocrator. Rev. As last.

These extremely common coins represent the last issue of the reign, covering the years 945–59. The design is extremely uniform. The cross in Christ's nimbus has usually three

pellets in each arm, but sometimes there are only two; the arms of the cross may also be marked by double lines instead of single ones. These details do not seem to be linked with changes in the sizes of the busts of the emperors or to have any chronological significance.

SILVER COINAGE

Class I (No. 16). 914–921. Obv. Inscription with name of Constantine only. Rev. Usual inscription and type (cross potent on base, steps, and globe).

These coins are very rare, and like the gold of Constantine VII and Zoe can represent only a meager issue. Wroth did not know of their existence. Bellinger (No. 21) would date them 945, partly because they give Constantine the title *autocrator*, as does the gold of that year, partly on the ground that Constantine would have wished to celebrate his release from dependency on the Lecapeni in 945 by producing coins in all metals. Against this are (a) their large lettering, (b) their reverse type, which has the cross of traditional pattern used up to 931 and not thereafter, and (c) the absence of globules from the circles of dots on the reverse, this feature also being one introduced on the coins in 931 and remaining a feature of the miliaresion down to the death of John Zimisces in 976. The title *autocrator* on early coins is easily explained, for it simply continued that used on the miliaresia of Alexander. I would therefore assign the coins to the period 914–21, without attempting to say at what moment in these seven years they were struck. It is unlikely that they belong to 913/14, since for the period before Zoe's regency no other coins are known. They may have been limited to 920/1, after the empress' downfall, but since no miliaresia in the joint names of Constantine and Zoe are known, it is best to leave the matter open. They may have been struck during the regency even though they do not bear Zoe's name.

Class II (No. 17). 921–931. Obv. Inscription with names of Romanus, Constantine, and Christopher, in that order. Rev. Usual inscription and type.

Class III (No. 18). 921–931. As Class II, but the order of emperors is Romanus, Christopher, and Constantine.

As long as Christopher was alive the names of Stephen and Constantine Lecapenus were not placed on the miliaresia, so the coins of Classes II and III must be spread over the whole decade 921–31. Whether they represent successive or simultaneous issues is impossible to say.

Class IV (No. 19). 931. Patterns only. Obv. Inscription and portrait bust of Romanus I. Rev. Usual inscription, but the cross has been modified by the insertion of an X at the intersection of the arms and there are two symbols (X) in the field.

Two strikes in copper of this coin exist, one in the British Museum and the other at Leningrad. Wroth described it as a bronze coin, but the type justifies our treating it as a pattern miliaresion. The use of portraiture (as on the pattern solidus of Class IX, to which it is also linked by the border of pellets), the small lettering, and the modified reverse type prevent us placing the coin early in Romanus' reign (921), and a change in the miliaresion was made necessary in 931 by Christopher's death. But so drastic a redesigning of the obverse was found to be unacceptable, and the main issue actually inaugurated in 931 was Class V.

Class V (No. 20). 931–944. Obv. Inscription with the names of Romanus, Constantine (VII), Stephen, and Constantine (Lecapenus), in that order. Rev. Usual inscription, but the type is modified (a) by the insertion of a medallion with a portrait bust of Romanus I at the intersection of the cross-arms, (b) by the insertion of the letters RωMA in the field, (c) by the substitution of a cross of five pellets for the traditional globule below the steps of the cross, and (d) by the insertion of four globules in the borders of dots and of ornaments above and beneath the obverse inscription.

These coins are very common, and their date requires no discussion. They represent a compromise between the traditional pattern of the miliaresion, as it had existed for over two centuries, and the revolutionary design of Class IV. The placing of the emperor's bust in a medallion on the cross was suggested by the similar design, with a bust of Christ, on the miliaresion of Alexander.

Class VI (No. 21). 945–959. Obv. Inscription with the names of Constantine and Romanus, in that order. Rev. Usual inscription, but the traditional cross potent has been transformed into a cross crosslet, with an X at the intersection, and there are sixteen globules on the outer border.

There are no miliaresia attributable to the joint reign of Constantine VII, Stephen, and Constantine Lecapenus, or to the almost equally brief one of Constantine VII alone. The coins of Constantine VII and Romanus II are extremely common, and were probably issued over the whole period 945–59. The small lettering and the redesigned cross on the reverse make it clear that they belong to the period of Romanus II, not that of Romanus I. They are the only coins of the reign on which Constantine VII is given the title of *porphyrogenitus*, here used on Byzantine coinage for the first time.

COPPER COINAGE The folles form a pattern quite different from that of the miliaresia.

Class 1 (No. 22). 914–919. Obv. Busts of Constantine and Zoe. Rev. Inscription with the names of Constantine and Zoe.

These coins are common and were evidently struck throughout the period of Zoe's regency. Constantine has the place of honor, but since he was only a child he is shown much smaller than his mother.

Class 2 (No. 23). 920–931. Obv. Bust of Constantine VII (beardless). Rev. Inscription with the name of Constantine.

That this issue belongs to the early part of the reign is shown by the youthful and beardless bust of Constantine and the fact that coins of Class 3 are sometimes overstruck on it. Wroth attributes it to 919–21 (?), Bellinger (No. 5) to 919, but it is too common to have been limited to such short periods of time. It was more probably struck over the whole period 920–31, thus giving Constantine some role in the coinage during the ascendancy of Romanus and Christopher, and only displaced by Class 3 when Romanus introduced his own bust on the silver and restored to Constantine a place on the gold.

Class 3 (No. 24). 921. Obv. Bust of Christopher. Rev. Inscription with the name of Christopher.

This is known in only a single specimen, and must be construed as a ceremonial issue on the occasion of Christopher's coronation. The type is copied from one of those struck by Leo VI. Some scholars, judging it from the illustration published by Bellinger, have

expressed the view that it is a coin of this emperor with the inscriptions skillfully recut, but the profusion of unusual issues which characterize Constantine VII's reign inclines one to accept it as authentic.

Class 4 (No. 25). 931–944. Obv. Bust of Romanus I. Rev. Inscription with the name of Romanus I.

This is common, and must have been struck over a substantial period of time. It is commonly dated 921–44, but more probably succeeded Class 2 in 931, when a general redesigning of the coinage was carried out. The bust is a compromise between the fully characterized portrait tried out at that time on the gold and silver and the customary conventional portrait of a bearded senior emperor.

Class 5 (No. 26). 945–*c.* 950. Obv. Bust of Constantine VII (bearded). Rev. Inscription with name of Constantine only.

These folles differ from the earlier ones of Constantine alone in having an older, bearded face, as well as in other small details of costume and insignia. They are normally assigned to the few months in 945 when Constantine was sole emperor, but are too common for such a short period. There is no need to assume that the next class was introduced immediately upon Romanus II's coronation, for the tradition of the two preceding decades had been that of having only a single bust on the follis. It seems likely that Class 5 continued to *c.*950—one cannot give an exact date—when it was replaced by Class 6.

Class 6 (No. 27). *c.* 950–959. Obv. Busts of Constantine VII (bearded) and Romanus II (beardless). Rev. Inscription with names of Constantine VII and Romanus II.

The fact that Constantine is the larger, bearded figure and has the place of honor makes it clear that these coins belong to Constantine VII and his son, not to Constantine VII and Romanus I. They are common, and must have been struck for several years before 959, but the date of their introduction cannot be determined.

Cherson

The coins of Constantine VII's reign from Cherson are for the most part common, but not very easy to date or classify. There appear to be two denominations, a normal one of 15–18 mm. diameter and a larger one, issued only under Romanus I, of about 25 mm. The traditional classification, elaborated by Oreshnikov[38] on the basis of Sabatier, is not very satisfactory, and since the coins are usually found loose and not in hoards there is little tangible evidence for attribution and dating. Coins with a bust[39] and coins with either one or two letters in the field seem to be early, the letters, where there are several, being placed either one above the other or loosely linked together as a monogram. Later in the reign there is a preference for cruciform monograms of a type that was to continue under Romanus II, Nicephorus II, John I, and Basil II. This is helpful in distinguishing coins of Romanus II from those of Romanus I.

[38] A. V. Oreshnikov, "Khersono-vizantiiskiya moneti," *Trudi Moskovskago Numizmaticheskago Obshchestva*, 3 (1905), 368–72.

[39] I. V. Sokolova, "Khersonesskie moneti X v. s portretami imperatorov," *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, 5 (1965), 116–20.

The classification used here, with Sabatier, Oreshnikov, and Wroth references, is as follows:

Class 1 (Constantine VII and Zoe). 914–919. Obv. Bust. Rev. Bust. S. XLVII. 3; Or. 43; W. p. 467, note 1.

Sabatier attributed this to Constantine VII and Romanus II, Oreshnikov to Romanus I and Christopher. Miss Sokolova quite rightly points out that one of the figures wears the characteristic crown of an empress, who can only be Zoe.

Class 2 (Constantine VII alone). 919–920. Obv. Bust. Rev. KΩ (vertically). S. XLVI. 16; Or. 44–6; W. 59.

Wroth places this in 945—Sabatier and Oreshnikov prefer 944–59—but the use of a bust puts it in the early coinage of the reign, presumably 919/20. There are two varieties, one without and the other (Or. 46) with two pellets in the reverse field.

Class 3 (Romanus I alone). 921. Obv. Bust. Rev. Monogram of PΩM. S. XLVII. 7; Or. 49–50; W. p. 458, note 1.

Sabatier, Oreshnikov, and Wroth attribute this to Romanus II, but Miss Sokolova points out that the bust—and the vertical arrangement of the monogram—are marks of an early date. It is perhaps 921.

Class 4 (Romanus I and Christopher). 921. Obv. Bust and PO. Rev. Bust and XP. S. —; Or. 42; W. p. 461.

The initials PO and XP in the field leave no doubt of the identification, but the coin is very rare and was probably struck only at the time of Christopher's coronation (921). Since Christopher's bust has been copied without change from that of Zoe it gives him the type of crown, with pinnacles and long pendilia, appropriate to an empress.

Class 5a (large size). Romanus I alone. 921–944. Obv. Monogram of PΩ. Rev. Cross on steps. S. XLVI. 8; Or. 34–9; W. 30–1.

Common, and probably struck over the whole period 921–44. The form of the monogram varies, the P being sometimes reversed and the Ω cup-shaped, while the reverse type is sometimes effaced through incompetent casting.

Class 5b (small size). Romanus I alone. As last, but small. Rare.

Class 6 (large size). Romanus I alone. 921–944. Obv. Monogram of PΩ. Rev. Monogram of ΔCΠ. S. XLVI. 9; Or. 32; W. —.

This class, with the monogram of δεσπότης accompanying that of Romanus, is much rarer than Class 5. Since the monogram of Romanus is badly formed, with ℒ instead of ℒ, it is probably late. There is a variety of the monogram on the reverse with a bar across the top, making ΔCΠT instead of simply ΔCΠ.[40]

Class 7 (Romanus I alone). 921–944. Obv. Monogram PΩMA. Rev. Cross on steps. S. —; Or. 53; W. —.

It is difficult to say whether this class belongs to Romanus I or Romanus II. Oreshnikov gives it to the latter, but the absence of a clear cross monogram and the unlikelihood of several different classes being struck during a reign as short as that of Romanus II, for whom no Constantinopolitan folles are known at all, inclines me to Romanus I.

[40] A. V. Oreshnikov, "Khersono-vizantiiskiya moneta Romana I," *Numizmaticheski Sbornik*, 1 (1911), 303–4.

Class 8 (Romanus I alone). 921–944. Obv. Monogram of PωMA. Rev. Monogram of BA. S. XLVII. 8; Or. 55–6; W. p. 469.

The same arguments apply. Sabatier and Oreshnikov, followed by Wroth (p. 469), ascribe this class to Romanus II, reading the BA of the reverse type as a monogram of Basil II. But it is unlikely that Romanus' provincial coinage would have put Basil's name on the coin, especially without that of Constantine VIII as well, and I prefer to follow Burachkov[41] in interpreting BA as *basileus* and assign the coin to Romanus I.

Class 9 (Constantine VII alone). 945. Obv. Kω vertically. Rev. Cross on steps. S. —; Or. 47; W. 58.

The vertical Kω would point to this being early in the reign, but since there is no bust I prefer to follow Oreshnikov and Wroth in assigning it to 945. Sabatier Pl. XLVI. 17 (p. 128, No. 13 bis) describes a coin combining a bust (instead of Kω) on the obverse with a cross-on-steps reverse, but since he omits the type with Kω obverse and cross-on-steps reverse, I suspect that he has inadvertently mixed two different types.

Class 10 (Constantine VII and Romanus II). 945–959. Obv. Cruciform monogram of Constantine. Rev. Cruciform monogram of Romanus. S. XLVII. 2; Or. 48; W. 77–8.

The cruciform monograms place this at the end of the reign, and there is no problem over the attribution.

[41] P. O. Burachkov, *Obshchii katalog monet, prinadlezhashchikh ellinskim koloniyam .. v predelakh nineshnei yuzhnoi Rossii* (Odessa, 1884), No. 141, Pl. XVII. 143.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople SOLIDUS *Class I* (pattern) Bust of the Virgin; busts of Constantine and Zoe		
			+VΠEPAΓIAΘEOTO KOKER' Bust of the Virgin facing, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, holding in front medallion of Christ with cross behind head	CONSTANTCEZWH b'ROM' To l., bust of Constantine facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross; to r., bust of Zoe facing, wearing traditional loros and crown with pendilia, pinnacles, and cross. They hold between them a globus with tall patriarchal cross	914
*(1)	Æ 4.1	18	(Private coll.)		

(1) W. —, T. —, R. —
Published by A. Veglery and G. Zacos, "A Unique Silver Coin of Constantine VII," *N.Circ.*, 64 (1956), 379–80; cf. also p. 472 and vol. 65 (1957), 195–6. The inscription reads continuously from the obverse to the reverse, 'Ὑπεραγία θεοτόκε βοήθει Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ Ζωήν, βασιλεῖς Ρωμαίων, "O Most Holy Mother of God, aid Constantine and Zoe, Emperors of the Romans.'" Veglery and Zacos regard it as a silver *coin*, substituting for the miliaresion which is not known to have been struck during Zoe's regency, but its module and design show it to be a pattern solidus.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II Christ seated (Type Ia); busts of Constantine and Zoe		
			+IhSXPSREX REϹNA NTIϒM ✱ Christ seated facing, bearded, on small lyre-backed throne, wearing tunic and himation, r. hand raised outwards in blessing, book resting on l. knee	CONSTANT'CEZWH ENXWb'R' As last, but the figures hold patriarchal cross by its shaft, Zoe's hand being above Constantine's, and Zoe's crown has semicircular plaques instead of pinnacles	914–919
*2.1	N 4.42	21 ↙			
*2.2	N 4.36 pierced	21 ↙	Same die as 2.1	Same die as 2.1	
			Class III Christ seated (Type Ia); busts of Constantine and Romanus I		
			Same inscr. and type	CONSTANT'CEROMA N'AϒϹϹ'b' To l., bust of Constantine VII facing, beardless; to r., bust of Romanus I facing, bearded. Each wears traditional loros and crown with cross; between them they hold patriarchal cross	920–921

2.1 J. Schulman 1957
W. p. 452, R. —, Sabatier p. 123, no. 1
2.2 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*3	N 4.40	20 ↓			920–921
			Class IV Christ seated (Type Ia); busts of Romanus I and Constantine		
			Same inscr. and type	ROMAN'ETCONSTAN T'AYYS'b' To l., bust of Romanus I facing, bearded, wearing traditional loros and crown with cross. To r., slightly smaller bust of Constantine VII facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Between them they hold patriarchal cross	921
*4.1	N 4.39	21 ↓			
4.2	N 4.30 pierced	21 ↙			

3 Friend 1957
W. —, R. —
4.1 Peirce 1948 from Spink xi. 27
W. 10, R. —
4.2 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class V Romanus crowned by Christ; busts of Christopher and Constantine		
			+KЄbOHΘЄI ROM A NWƐЄCPOTH To l., Romanus I standing facing, bearded, wearing traditional loros, with fringed ornamented end passing over r. arm, and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, gl. cr.; l. hand extended. To r., Christ standing (Type IVa) facing, bearded, wearing tunic and himation, with cross behind head. He holds book with l. hand in fold of himation; with r. he crowns Romanus	XPISTOF'ЄTCONST' AЧ99'b To l., bust of Christopher facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross. To r., smaller bust of Constantine VII facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Between them they hold patriarchal cross	921
*5.1	*N* 4.37 crumpled	21 ↓			
*5.2	*N* 3.93 clipped and worn	19 ↓	Same die as 5.1	Same die as 5.1	

5.1 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. p. 460, R. —
5.2 Peirce 1948 from Glendining sale 9 iii. 31, lot 629

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class VI Romanus crowned by Christ; busts of Constantine and Christopher		
			Same inscr. and type	CONSTANT'ETXPI STOF'b'R' To l., bust of Constantine VII facing, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross. To r., bust of Christopher facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Between them they hold patriarchal cross	921
*6.1	N 4.38	21 ↙			
*6.2	N 4.38	21 ↓			
6.3	N 4.26 pierced	20 ↓			

6.1–3 Whittemore
W. 39, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class VII Christ seated (Type Ia); busts of Romanus I and Christopher		
			Same inscr. and type as Classes II–IV	ROMAN'ЄTXPISTO FO'AYSSb' To l., bust of Romanus I facing, bearded, wearing traditional loros and crown with cross. To r., slightly smaller bust of Christopher facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Between them they hold patriarchal cross	921–931
7.1	N 4.48	21 ↓			
7.2	N 4.45	20 ↓			
*7.3	N 4.45	21 ↓			
*7.4	N 4.42	20 ↓		Inscr. reads N'ЄT:XP	
7.5	N 4.41	20 ↓		Ends AYSSb	
7.6	N 4.41	20 ↓	Ends ⁘	Ends FOΛYSSI	
7.7	N 4.39	22 ↘		As last (diff. die)	
7.8	N 4.38	21 ↓			
7.9	N 4.36	21 ↙			
7.10	N 4.35	21 ↓		Ends AYSSb	
7.11	N 4.35	20 ↙			

7 The final ✱ is often ⁘, the pellets not having been joined up. I have noted only those cases where there are six pellets instead of seven. Two contemporary counterfeits of this class are illustrated on Pl. XXXVII. See below, p. 553, note following Nos. 15.25–35.

7.1–3 Whittemore
W. 35–38, R. 1892

7.4 Schindler 1960 from Kallai 30. iii. 15

7.5 Peirce 1948 from Sofia x. 27

7.6–9 Whittemore

7.10 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. ii. 29

7.11 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
7.12	N	4.34	22	↓		Ends AYSS'b	921–931
*7.13	N	4.30	21	↓		Ends ΛYSSI	
7.14	N	4.30	22	↙			
7.15	N	4.29	21	↓			
7.16	N	4.28	21	↓	Ends ⁘	Ends ΛYSSI	
7.17	N	4.28	21	↓			
7.18	N	4.28	20	↓		Punctuation with pellets	
	pierced						
7.19	N	4.24	21	↓	Ends TIdM⁘ Christ beardless	h·OMΛИETXPISO FOΛYSSI	
7.20	N	4.22	20	↘			
					Class VIII		
					Christ seated (Type Ib); Romanus, Christopher, and Constantine		
					+IhSXPSREX REϹNA NTIYM Christ seated facing, bearded, on wide lyre-backed throne, wearing tunic and himation, r. hand blessing outwards in sling of cloak, l. hand holding book (by spine) on knee	ROMAN'CONST' ET XPIST OF'b'R' In center, Romanus I standing facing, bearded, wearing crown with cross and traditional loros whose fringed end, ornamented by ⁜, passes over l. arm. In r. hand, scepter; in l., akakia. To l., half-length figure of Constantine VII facing, beardless; to r., larger half-length figure of Christopher facing, bearded. Each wears crown with cross and chlamys with tablion	*c.*930

7.12 Peirce 1948 from Platt iii. 26
7.13–18 Whittemore
7.19 Whittemore
This is either a contemporary imitation or the work of a very incompetent die-sinker.
7.20 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*8.1	Ⱥ 4.57	21 ↘			*c.*930
*8.2	Ⱥ 4.25 pierced	21 ↓			
			Class IX (pattern) Bust of Christ (Type Vd); busts of Romanus I and Constantine		
			+IhSYSX PISTYS⁝⁝ Bust of Christ facing, bearded, wearing tunic and himation, with nimbus outside which project the ends of three cross-arms; r. hand raised before breast in benediction, book in l., held (in fold of himation?) from beneath. Border of globules between two linear circles	ROMANCE CONSTAN[On l., bust of Romanus facing, with long beard, wearing modified loros and heavy crown with cross and pendilia; on r., smaller bust of Constantine facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. They hold between them a globus on which is a long shaft with ⁜ at the top. Border as on obv.	
*9	Æ 3.31	19 ↓			

8.1 Whittemore
W. —, R. —
The finest known specimen of this coin, in the Berlin collection, was published and discussed by K. Regling, "Ein Goldsolidus von Romanus I," *ZfN*, 33 (1922), 274–9.

8.2 Shaw 1947

9 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28
W. —, R. —
Poorly preserved. The details have been made out with the help of another specimen at Berlin which has a better obverse than ours (different die), though its reverse is badly corroded. The initial + of the obverse inscription is clear on ours, the terminal ⁝⁝ on that at Berlin. The peculiar design of the nimbus is quite clear on the Berlin specimen. Romanus has a long forked beard, as on his pattern miliaresion (No. 19). Of Constantine's chlamys all that can be made out are the three pendants of the fibula and the ornamented tablion.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class X Christ seated (Type Id); Constantine and Romanus I standing		
			Same inscr. and type as Class VIII, but the throne is slightly different in design and Christ's r. hand is turned inwards	+CONSTANTINOSC ЄR OMAN'ЄNXWb'R' To l., figure of Constantine VII standing, beardless, wearing chlamys with tablion ornamented by ✠ and heavy crown with cross. In r. hand, gl. cr. To r., larger figure of Romanus I standing, bearded, wearing heavy crown with cross and loros whose fringed end, ornamented by ⁜, passes over his l. arm. In r., gl. cr. They stand on a *souppedion* and between them they hold shaft of long patriarchal cross	931–944
*10.1	*AV* 4.41	21 ↓			
*10.2	*AV* 4.40	22 ↓		Breaks RO MA	
10.3	*AV* 4.40 pierced	22 ↓		Ends OMAN·ЄNX·W b'R'	

10.1 Peirce 1948 from Raymond xi. 28
W. 7–8, R. —
10.2–3 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class XI (pattern) Bust of Christ (Type VIIIa); Constantine VII, wearing chlamys		
(11)	Æ 4.15	18	+IhSXPSREXREϹNA NTIЧM Bust of Christ Pantocrator facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having pellets in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand in sling of cloak raised in blessing, l. clasps book to breast (Hermitage)	CONSTAN TINOS[Bust of Constantine facing, with long beard, wearing chlamys with elaborate tablion and heavy crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, globus with patriarchal cross	945
			Class XII Bust of Christ (Type VIIIa); Constantine wearing loros, with akakia		
*12	Æ 4.39	21 ↘	+IdSXPSREhREI·IAPTI hM Similar type, but the head of Christ is smaller and the arms of the cross wide and without pellets	+CONSTAN TAVTC RAThI· Similar bust, but Constantine wears a modified loros of rich design and holds akakia in l.	

(11) W. p. 492, note 1, R. —
Published by I. V. Sokolova, "Serebryannii monetnii chekan Konstantina VII," *Numizmatika i epigrafika*, 2 (1960), 58–9, Pl. I. 3. The Hermitage specimen appears to be identical with that in the Moustier Sale (Hoffman 17. vi. 72), lot 4091 (no. 4157 on Pl. VII), to which Wroth alludes.

12 Whittemore
W. —, R. —
This has every appearance of authenticity, despite the poor lettering.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class XIII		
			As last, but no akakia		
			+IhSXPSRЄXRЄϛNAN TIϛM Similar type, but head larger and three pellets in each arm of the cross	+CONSTAN T,AVT' CRAT'b'R Similar type, but the bust is larger and Constantine has no akakia	945
*13a.1	Ñ 4.47	21 ↙		Ends R`bO·	
*13a.2	Ñ 4.36	21 ↓			
*13a.3	Ñ 4.36	20 ↓	Same die as 13a.1	Ends RbO	
*13b.1	Ñ 4.40	20 ↓	Begins +IhSXPISR At end, ⁘		
*13b.2	Ñ 4.37 pierced	21 ↓	At end, ⁘	No + at beginning Ends CRΛTbR	
			Class XIV		
			Christ seated (Type Id); busts of Constantine and Romanus II		
			Inscr. and type as Class X	CONSTANT'CЄRO MAN'AVϛϛbR To l., bust of Constantine facing, bearded, wearing traditional loros and crown with cross. To r., smaller bust of Romanus II facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Between them they hold patriarchal cross	

13a.1 Whittemore
W. 44, R. 1897
13a.2 Peirce 1948 from Prince Philipp of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha Sale (Hamburger 20. ii. 28), lot 652.
13a.3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
13b.1 Whittemore
W. —, R. —
13b.2 Swiss Collection 1956
There are traces of a rosette at the beginning of the obverse inscription, later eliminated on the die.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*14.1	A/	4.37	21	↓		No punctuation save R· at end	945
14.2	A/	4.27	21	↓			
					Class XV		
					Bust of Christ (Type VIIIa); busts of Constantine and Romanus II		
					Inscr. and type of Class XIII	Same inscr. and type	945–959
15.1	A/	4.45	20	↙	ꓤ for ꓤ	Ends AꓤꓢbR	
15.2	A/	4.43	20	↙		No punctuation	
15.3	A/	4.43	20	↓			
15.4	A/	4.43	20	↘			
15.5	A/	4.42	21	↙			
15.6	A/	4.42	20	↙		∧ for A	
15.7	A/	4.42	19	↓			
15.8	A/	4.42	20	↓		∧ for A Ends IR	
*15.9	A/	4.41	20	↓		∧ for A	
15.10	A/	4.41	20	↙			
15.11	A/	4.40	20	↓			
15.12	A/	4.40	21	↙		Ends IR	
15.13	A/	4.40	19	↓			

14.1 Peirce 1948 from Spink iv. 31
W. 9, R. —
Wroth records the end of the reverse inscription as AꓤꓢbR, but his photograph shows it to be similar to ours: AꓤꓢꓢbR.

14.2 Peirce 1948 from Spink 1. vi. 38

15 The letters in this class are often badly formed or incomplete, the cross-bar of the A being generally absent; it is not possible to indicate their many defects. The die-sinkers do not seem to have understood the final AVꓢꓢbR, which is often fudged. The number of pellets in the nimbus cross is generally three, but occasionally two.

15.1–5 Whittemore
W. 60–66, R. 1905

15.6 Peirce 1948 from Vogel iii. 29

15.7 Friend 1957

15.8 Whittemore

15.9 Peirce 1948 from Feder x. 27

15.10–15 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
15.14	N 4.39	20 ↙	Ends AYTI[	⅄ for A Ends IR	945–959
15.15	N 4.39	21 ↓	Two pellets	⅄ for A	
15.16	N 4.39	21 ↓		Ends ⅄YYϹI·RI	
15.17	N 4.39	19 ↙			
15.18	N 4.39	19 ↙	Cross in nimbus with double lines		
15.19	N 4.39	20 ↙			
15.20	N 4.39	20 ↙			
15.21	N 4.39	20 ↙			
15.22	N 4.38 pierced	20 ↘		Blundered inscr.	
*15.23	N 4.38	19 ↙	Cross in nimbus with double lines		
15.24	N 4.38	20 ↓	As last		
15.25	N 4.37	19 ↓			
*15.26	N 4.37	21 ↘	Two pellets	Begins ONSC	
15.27	N 4.37	21 ↘			
*15.28	N 4.36	20 ↓			
15.29	N 4.35 pierced	19 ↓	Ends TYM′		
15.30	N 4.34	21 ↓	Two pellets		
15.31	N 4.34	20 ↙			
15.32	N 4.33	21 ↓	Two pellets	End of inscr. blundered	
*15.33	N 4.28	20 ↓		Ends ANYϹϹbR′	
15.34	N 4.23	21 ↓	Begins IhXP Two pellets in arms to l. and r., cross with double lines		
15.35	N 3.87	19 ↙		Ends IR	

15.16 Friend 1957
15.17–22 Whittemore
15.23 Peirce 1948 from Baldwin 15. vi. 26
15.24 Peirce 1948
15.25–35 Whittemore

F. 1, F. 2 Two contemporary counterfeits of Class VII are illustrated on Pl. XXVII, after the regular solidi of Class XV. They are crude in style, with badly formed letters and blundered inscriptions, and appear to be of slightly base gold. F. 1 is from the Peirce coll. (4.45 g. ↓), acq. from Raymond iv. 32. F. 2 is in the Whittemore Coll. (4.43 g. ↓).

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			MILIARESION		
			Class I		
			Constantine VII alone		
			+CONS TANT'EN X'ωAYTOCR' PIST'bAS IL'ROM' Three borders of pellets ornamented with eight globules	IhSYSXRI STYSNICA Cross potent on three steps. Beneath, globus. Three borders of pellets	914–921
*16.1	Æ 2.98	25 ↖			
16.2	Æ 2.67	24 ↖			
			Class II		
			Romanus I, Constantine VII, and Christopher		
			+ROMANO' CONSTANT' CEXPIST OF' ENX'ωEVSE b'bASIL'R' Same border	Same inscr. and type	921–931
17.1	Æ 2.79	26 ↗			
*17.2	Æ 2.52	25 ↗			
*17.3	Æ 2.42 clipped	23 ↖			
17.4	Æ 2.22 corroded	23 ↑			

16.1 Hess-Bank Leu sale 16. iv. 64, lot 446
W. —, R. —
16.2 Whittemore
This rings badly and seems to be of poor silver, but appears to be authentic.
17.1 Whittemore
W. 40, R. 1893
17.2 Whittemore
17.3 Schindler 1960 from Trinks
17.4 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class III		
			Romanus I, Christopher, and Constantine VII		
			+ROMANO' XPISTOFOR' CECONSTAN' ENX'ωEVSE b'bASIL'R' Same border	Same inscr. and type	921–931
18.1	Æ 2.98	25 ↑			
18.2	Æ 2.93	25 ↑			
*18.3	Æ 2.92	25 ↑			
18.4	Æ 2.67 worn	23 ↑			
18.5	Æ 2.57	25 ↖			
*18.6	Æ 2.38	25 ↑			
			Class IV (pattern)		
			Romanus I alone		
			ROMANO ENΘωb'R' Bust of Romanus I facing, with long beard, wearing modified loros and heavy crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, globus with patriarchal cross. Border of globules between two borders of dots	Same inscription Usual type, but X at intersection of the arms of the cross and ✕ to l. and r. in field. Border as on obv.	931

18.1 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. 41, R. 1894
18.2 Whittemore
18.3 Peirce 1948 from Ars Classica Sale XV, 2. vii. 30, lot 2092
18.4 Whittemore
18.5 Schindler
18.6 Whittemore
Struck on an unusually thin flan

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*(19)	Æ 8.51	25	(W. 43)		931
			Class V Romanus I, Constantine VII, and Stephen and Constantine Lecapenus		
			+ROMANO' CONSTANT' STEFANOS CECONSTA' ENX'ωb'R' Above and below, — ·:· — Three borders of pellets ornamented with eight globules	Same inscription Usual type, but at intersection of cross an oval medallion with facing bust of Romanus having long beard and wearing modified loros and crown with pendilia. In field l. and r., R ω and M A Beneath steps of cross, ·:· instead of globus; four globules on outer borders of pellets	931–944
20.1	Æ 3.16	24 ↑			
20.2	Æ 3.15	25 ↖			
20.3	Æ 3.02	24 ↑			
20.4	Æ 3.01	25 ↑			

(19) The British Museum specimen was first published by J. Friedlaender in *Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, i (1865), 177. It was then in a collection at Naples. The Hermitage has a better preserved specimen, with an extremely fine portrait, but the border of globules has been cut away (illus. in Sokolova, *art. cit.* above, note to No. 11, Pl. I. 6.)

20 In his description of this class, Wroth neglects to mention the R ω and M A in the field and describes the reverse border as having eight instead of four globules. Romanus' crown has sometimes a cross, or two or three pellets representing one, but on most specimens this is absent owing to lack of space.

20.1 Peirce 1948
W. 42, R. 1895–6

20.2 Whittemore

20.3–4 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*20.5	Æ	2.95	24	↖			931–944
*20.6	Æ	2.82	24	↗			
20.7	Æ	2.81	24	↖			
20.8	Æ	2.81	24	↑			
20.9	Æ	2.78	24	↗			
*20.10	Æ	2.76	24	↗			
20.11	Æ	2.69	25	↑			
20.12	Æ	2.69	24	↗			
20.13	Æ	2.65	24	↖			
20.14	Æ	2.64	25	↖			
20.15	Æ	2.47	25	↗			
20.16	Æ	2.39	23	↑			
	pierced						
					Class VI		
					Constantine VII and Romanus II		
					+CONST'T' ΠORFVROϹ' CEROMANO ENX'ωEVSEb· b'RωMEON Three borders of pellets ornamented with sixteen globules	Same inscription Cross on base and three steps, with smaller cross at each extremity (cross crosslet) and X at intersection. Beneath steps, globus. Border as on obv.	945–959
*21.1	Æ	3.20	25	↖			

20.5 Peirce 1948 from Spink viii. 28
20.6 Peirce 1948 from Ratto sale iii. 28
20.7 Schindler 1960 from Trinks 1912
20.8 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
20.9 Whittemore
20.10 Peirce 1948 from Spink iv. 29
20.11–12 Whittemore
20.13 Schindler 1960
20.14–16 Whittemore
21.1 Schindler 1960 from Egger 1913
W. 67–69, R. 1906

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
21.2	Æ 3.18	24 ↘			945–959
21.3	Æ 3.06	23 ↑			
21.4	Æ 3.01	24 ↖			
21.5	Æ 2.99	23 ↗			
21.6	Æ 2.97	24 ↑			
21.7	Æ 2.95	24 ↑			
*21.8	Æ 2.82	25 ↗			
21.9	Æ 2.82	23 ↑			
21.10	Æ 2.82	24 ↑			
21.11	Æ 2.80	23 ↗			
21.12	Æ 2.76	24 ↑			
21.13	Æ 2.68	23 ↑			
21.14	Æ 2.61 chipped	23 ↗			
21.15	Æ 2.61	24 ↑			
21.16	Æ 2.45 clipped	21 ↗			
21.17	Æ 2.39 broken	23 ↖			
21.18	Æ 2.38	23 ↑			
21.19	Æ 2.32	23 ↖			
*21.20	Æ 2.06 worn	23 ↑	ω for V on line 4		
21.21	Æ 2.02 pierced and broken	22 ↗			

21.2 Whittemore
Unusual die position
21.3 Swiss Collection 1956
21.4 Peirce 1948
21.5–6 Whittemore
21.7 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
21.8 Peirce 1948 from Ars Classica Sale XV, 2. vii. 30, lot 2096
21.9 Peirce 1948 from Raymond v. 28
21.10–21 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					FOLLIS *Class 1* Constantine VII and Zoe		
					+CONSTANT'CEZO Hb' To l., bust of Constantine VII facing, beardless, wearing traditional loros and crown with cross. To r., facing bust of Zoe wearing chlamys and crown with pendilia and cross flanked by two pinnacles. Between them they hold patriarchal cross	+CONS TANTINO CEZOHbA' SILISRO MEON	914–919
22.1	Æ	7.87	24	↙			
*22.2	Æ	7.20	28	↘			
*22.3	Æ	7.13	25	↙			
22.4	Æ	7.03	25	↙			
22.5	Æ	6.92	25	↘			
*22.6	Æ	6.91	25	↘			
22.7	Æ	6.69	25	↘			
*22.8	Æ	6.18	26	↘			
22.9	Æ	6.16	26	↘			
22.10	Æ	5.99	26	↙			

22.1 Whittemore
W. 1–6, R. 1883–5
22.2 Peirce 1948 from Spink vi. 29
22.3 Schindler 1960
22.4–5 Whittemore
22.6 Peirce 1948
22.7 Whittemore
22.8 Peirce 1948 from Spink iv. 29
22.9 Schindler 1960
22.10 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
22.11	Æ	5.92	27	↙			914–919
22.12	Æ	5.92	24	↘			
22.13	Æ	5.91	25	↘			
*22.14	Æ	5.80	24	↘			
22.15	Æ	5.45	25	↓			
22.16	Æ	5.13	27	↘			
22.17	Æ	5.11	26	↓			
22.18	Æ	5.09	27	↓			
22.19	Æ	4.52	27	↓			
22.20	Æ	4.46	24	↙			
*22.21	Æ	3.94	23	↓			
22.22	Æ	3.67 corroded	25	↓	Inscr. illegible		
22.23	Æ	3.31 corroded	23	↓	+CONSTA[	Top line off flan	
					Class 2		
					Constantine VII alone		
					+CONSTANT'bASIL' ROM' Bust of Constantine VII facing, beardless, wearing traditional loros and crown with cross. In r. hand, labarum; in l., gl. cr.	+CONS TANTIN' ENθObAS IL'ROM'	920–931

22.11 Schindler 1960
22.12 Peirce 1948 from Platt vi. 26
22.13 Whittemore
22.14 Peirce 1948
22.15–16 Whittemore
22.17 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
22.18 Whittemore
22.19 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
22.20 Whittemore
22.21 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
22.22–3 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*23.1	Æ	5.67	24	↓	+CONS off flan		920–931
*23.2	Æ	5.49	26	↘			
23.3	Æ	5.41	25	↓		ΘЄ for ΘO	
23.4	Æ	5.31	26	↘	OM′ off flan		
	broken						
*23.5	Æ	4.67	25	↘			
*23.6	Æ	3.21	23	↓	+CONSTA off flan		
					Class 3		
					Christopher alone		
*(24)	Æ		25		XPISTOFO PbASPOM′ Bust of Christopher facing, bearded, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. In l. hand, akakia (Balvin coll.)	+PISTO ЄNΘЄObA SILЄVSP OMЄON	

23.1 Schindler 1960 from Münzhandlung Basel 3. iv. 36
W. 11–13, R. 1898–9
23.2 Swiss Collection 1956
23.3 Whittemore
23.4 Peirce 1948
23.5 Schindler 1960
23.6 Peirce 1948 from Ratto sale xii. 30
R. 1899 This coin
(24) W. —, R. —
Published by Bellinger, *art. cit.*, pp. 158–9, No. 12, Pl. XXXIV. 1. The type is copied from one of Leo VI.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class 4 Romanus I alone (a) Unbroken obv. inscr.		
			+RωMAn°bASILEVSRωM′ Bust of Romanus I facing, bearded, wearing chlamys with tablion and heavy crown with cross. In r. hand, labarum scepter topped by trefoil ornament; in l., gl. cr.	+RωMA n′EnΘEωbA SILEVSRω MAIωn	931–944
25a.1	Æ 8.20	28 ↓			
25a.2	Æ 7.71	25 ↘			
25a.3	Æ 7.15	26 ↓			
*25a.4	Æ 6.97	27 ↓			
25a.5	Æ 6.81	26 ↘			
25a.6	Æ 6.51 worn	27 ↓	Inscr. illegible		
25a.7	Æ 6.50	26 ↘			
25a.8	Æ 5.82	25 ↘			
25a.9	Æ 5.69	26 ↘	Overstruck on coin of Leo VI		

25 The distinction made here between broken and unbroken inscriptions is one of convenience and does not seem to have any chronological or other significance, though coins with broken inscriptions are perhaps more frequently overstruck. Coins on which the inscription is too incomplete, as a result of wear or overstriking, for one to be sure of their category have been put at the end as 25c. Since the inscriptions are extremely uniform I have not noted the absence of letters through wear or overstriking.

25a.1 Whittemore
W. 14–29, R. 1886–8

25a.2 Whittemore

25a.3 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32

25a.4–9 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*25a.10	Æ	5.39	27	↓			931–944
*25a.11	Æ	5.29	27	↙	No cross on globus		
25a.12	Æ	5.16	24	↘			
25a.13	Æ	5.07	23	↓	Inscr. illegible		
		worn					
25a.14	Æ	5.04	27	↓	Overstruck		
25a.15	Æ	4.60	25	↓	Overstruck		
		worn					
*25a.16	Æ	4.58	25	↓			
25a.17	Æ	4.48	24	↓			
					(b) Broken obv. inscr.		
					Same, but inscr. broken bAS ILEVS	Same	
25b.1	Æ	8.73	28	↓			
25b.2	Æ	8.58	28	↓	Overstruck		
25b.3	Æ	8.41	28	↓			
25b.4	Æ	8.26	28	↓			
25b.5	Æ	7.82	27	↘			
25b.6	Æ	7.52	27	↘	Overstruck		
25b.7	Æ	7.13	27	↓	Overstruck		
*25b.8	Æ	7.03	28	↓			
*25b.9	Æ	7.01	26	↓			
25b.10	Æ	6.72	27	↓	Overstruck		
25b.11	Æ	6.71	27	↘			

25a.10 Peirce 1948
25a.11 Schindler 1960
It does not look as if there had ever been a cross on the globus, though since the coin is worn at that point one cannot be sure.
25a.12 Swiss Collection 1956
25a.13–17 Whittemore
25b.1–6 Whittemore
W. 19–24, R. —
25b.7 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. 1928
25b.8 Schindler 1960
25b.9–10 Whittemore
25b.11 Peirce 1948 from Ciani xi. 25

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*25b.12	Æ	6.40	29	↘			931–944
25b.13	Æ	6.14	29	↘			
25b.14	Æ	6.13	26	↓			
25b.15	Æ	5.99	27	↘	Overstruck		
25b.16	Æ	5.62	27	↘	Overstruck		
25b.17	Æ	5.46	27	↓	Overstruck on follis of Leo VI		
*25b.18	Æ	5.42	27	↙	Overstruck on follis of Leo VI. Begins +ROM instead of +RωM		
*25b.19	Æ	5.28	25	↓			
25b.20	Æ	5.25	26	↘	Overstruck		
25b.21	Æ	4.99	27	↓	Overstruck		
*25b.22	Æ	4.73	26	↘			
25b.23	Æ	3.87	25	↓	Overstruck		
25b.24	Æ	3.83	24	↙	Overstruck on follis of Class 2		
					(c) Obv. inscr. obscure		
					Same, but inscrs. mostly illegible	Same	
25c.1	Æ	8.13	26	↘	Overstruck		
25c.2	Æ	7.62	26	↙	Overstruck on follis of Leo VI		

25b.12 Shaw 1947
25b.13 Peirce 1948
25b.14 Whittemore
25b.15 Schindler 1960
25b.16–17 Whittemore
25b.18 Swiss Collection 1956
25b.19 Whittemore
25b.20 Schindler 1960
25b.21 Swiss Collection 1956
25b.22 Schindler 1960
25b.23–4 Whittemore
25c.1 Peirce 1948 from Ciani xi. 25
W. —, R. —
25c.2–4 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
25c.3	Æ	7.04	25	↓			931–944
25c.4	Æ	6.56	26	↘			
25c.5	Æ	6.39	27	↙	Overstruck on follis of Leo VI		
25c.6	Æ	6.38	25	↘		Third line reads SIΠEVSRω	
25c.7	Æ	6.12	26	↓	Overstruck on follis of Leo VI		
25c.8	Æ	5.89	26	↘	Overstruck on follis of Leo VI		
25c.9	Æ	4.81	25	↘			
25c.10	Æ	4.56	26	↘	Overstruck on follis of Class 2		
25c.11	Æ	4.43	25	↓			
25c.12	Æ	4.22	26	↓	Overstruck		
25c.13	Æ	3.94 worn	25	↓			
					Class 5		
					Constantine VII alone		
					+CONST'bA SIL'ROM' Bust of Constantine VII facing, bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross. In l. hand, gl. cr.; in r., akakia	+CONST' EΠΘEObA SILEVSR OMEON	945–*c.* 950

25c.5 Schindler 1960
25c.6 Whittemore
25c.7–8 Swiss Collection 1956
25c.9 Whittemore
25c.10 Swiss Collection 1956
25c.11–13 Whittemore
26 As with the preceding class, I have not noted the absence of letters through wear or overstriking, since the inscriptions seem all to be identical.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*26.1	Æ	9.33	28	↘			945–*c.* 950
26.2	Æ	9.23	28	↘			
26.3	Æ	8.85	27	↘			
26.4	Æ	8.76	29	↘			
*26.5	Æ	7.80	28	↘	Overstruck on follis of Romanus I		
26.6	Æ	7.77	27	↓	Overstruck on follis of Romanus I		
26.7	Æ	7.57	27	↓	Overstruck		
*26.8	Æ	7.48	26	↓			
26.9	Æ	7.05	28	↓	Overstruck		
26.10	Æ	7.02	27	↓	Overstruck on follis of Romanus I		
26.11	Æ	6.72	26	↘	Overstruck		
26.12	Æ	6.62	22	↓			
26.13	Æ	6.42	28	↘			
*26.14	Æ	6.35	24	↘			
26.15	Æ	6.28	24	↓			
26.16	Æ	6.15	28	↓	Overstruck		
*26.17	Æ	6.13	24	↘			

26.1 Sachs 1943
W. 45–57, R. 1900–3
26.2 Whittemore
26.3 Peirce 1948 from Spink iv. 29
26.4 Swiss Collection 1956
26.5 Whittemore
26.6 Swiss Collection 1956
26.7 Whittemore
26.8 Peirce 1948 from Fejer
26.9 Swiss Collection 1956
26.10 Whittemore
26.11 Schindler 1960
26.12 Swiss Collection 1956
Small, irregular flan
26.13 Whittemore
26.14 Peirce 1948 from Ciani xi. 25
26.15 Peirce 1948
26.16 Whittemore
26.17 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
26.18	Æ	5.98	28	↙	Overstruck on follis of Romanus I		945–*c.* 950
26.19	Æ	5.94	26	↘	Overstruck	τ for T	
26.20	Æ	5.75	26	↙	Overstruck on follis of Romanus I		
26.21	Æ	5.73	26	↘		τ for T	
26.22	Æ	5.69	25	↓	Overstruck		
26.23	Æ	5.63	26	↙	Overstruck		
26.24	Æ	5.46	24	↘			
26.25	Æ	4.33	25	↘	Begins +COST R. hand not visible		
26.26	Æ	3.76	24	↘	Overstruck on follis of Romanus I		
26.27	Æ	3.71	25	↘			
26.28	Æ	3.67	24	↓	Double struck		

26.18 Swiss Collection 1956
26.19–20 Schindler 1960
26.21 Shaw 1947
26.22 Whittemore
26.23 Swiss Collection 1956
26.24 Swiss Collection 1956
Irregular flan
26.25 Peirce 1948
26.26 Swiss Collection 1956
26.27 Peirce 1948 from Ciani 11. vi. 26
26.28 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Class 6		
					Constantine VII and Romanus II		
					+CONST'CEROMAN' b'ROM' To l., bust of Constantine VII facing, bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross. To r., slightly smaller bust of Romanus II facing, beardless, wearing traditional loros and crown with cross. Between them they hold globus surmounted by patriarchal cross with X in center	+CONST' CEROMAN ENXRIST' b'ROMEO	*c.* 950–959
*27.1	Æ	7.73	29	↘	+CONS[Overstruck on follis of Romanus I		
*27.2	Æ	7.08	27	↘	+CONST'CE[ ]b' ROM' Overstruck		
27.3	Æ	6.57	27	↓	]ST'CEROM[Overstruck on follis of Romanus I		

27 Coins of this class are all roughly and carelessly overstruck, so that neither the types nor inscriptions are ever wholly clear. I have therefore noted in each case what is legible of the inscriptions.

27.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 71–76, R. 1907–9
W. 70 is a variety of neat workmanship struck with an unusually small obverse die and having Constantine's name in the form CONST'T' instead of simply CONST'. Cf. No. 27.8 below.

27.2–3 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*27.4	Æ	5.59	28	↘	+CON[Overstruck		*c.* 950–959
27.5	Æ	5.51	26	↙	+CON[ ]ROM' Overstruck		
*27.6	Æ	5.51	24	↘	Inscr. illegible. Overstruck		
27.7	Æ	5.47	28	↓	]CEROMAN[Double struck		
*27.8	Æ	5.26	27	↘	+CONST'ZRO[ ] ROM'		
					Cherson		
					Class 1		
					Constantine and Zoe		
					Bust of Constantine VII facing, beardless, wearing robes and crown with trefoil ornament	Bust of Zoe facing, wearing robes and crown with three pinnacles and pendilia	914–919
*28	Æ	2.77	17	↓			

27.4 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vii. 28
27.5 Schindler 1960 from Walla 1914
27.6 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vii. 28
27.7 Swiss Collection 1956
27.8 Peirce 1948
28–38 Oreshnikov numbers are given for the coins, since his work remains the most complete survey of the series. The details of the costumes on the types with bust are as a rule obscure. Probably a chlamys is intended by what I term "robes"—there are sometimes three vertical lines which may represent the pendants of the fibula—but it is difficult to be sure.
28 Peirce 1948
W. p. 467, note 1, R. —, Or. 43

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Class 2		
					Constantine VII alone		
					Bust of Constantine VII facing, beardless, wearing robes and crown with trefoil ornament	K ω	919–920
*29.1	Æ	3.75	18	↗			
29.2	Æ	3.66	18	↗			
29.3	Æ	3.54	18	↘			
*29.4	Æ	3.35	18	↗			
29.5	Æ	2.61	19	↘			
					Class 3		
					Romanus I alone		
					Bust of Romanus I facing, wearing loros and crown with trefoil ornament		920
30.1	Æ	2.90	16	↑			
*30.2	Æ	2.90	15	↑			

29.1 Peirce 1948 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30
W. 59, R. 1904 This coin, Or. 44–6
29.2 Whittemore
29.3 Swiss Collection 1956
29.4 Schindler 1960
29.5 Peirce 1948
30.1 Peirce 1948
W. p. 461, R. —, Or. 49–50
30.2 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Class 4		
					Romanus I and Christopher		
					Bust of Romanus I facing, wearing loros and crown with trefoil ornament, between P and O	Bust of Christopher facing, wearing robes and crown with three pinnacles and pendilia, between K and P	921
*(31)	Æ		16		(Oreshnikov No. 42)		
					Class 5		
					Romanus I alone		
					ℙ	Cross on two steps, crosslets at extremities of arms. To l. and r., pellet	921–944
					(a) Large		
*32a.1	Æ	8.20	24	↖			
*32a.2	Æ	8.18	26	↑			
32a.3	Æ	7.67	26	↑			
32a.4	Æ	7.23	27	↑		Obscure	
32a.5	Æ	6.59	25	↖			
32a.6	Æ	6.23	25	↑		Obscure	
*32b.1	Æ	7.56	26	↓	Monogram ℙ		

32a.1 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vi. 29
W. 30–31, R. 1889, Or. 34–8
There is a variant of this with the loop of the *rho* to the left (Or. 39).

32a.2 Schindler 1960 from Egger
The two projections at the edge of the flan on this coin are very clear evidence of its having been cast.

32a.3 Whittemore

32a.4 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vi. 29

32a.5 Schindler 1960

32a.6 Swiss Collection 1956 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30, lot 1889

32b.1 Schindler 1960 from Lois (Klagenfurt)
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
32b.2	Æ 7.50	25 ↓	Monogram ℒ		921–944
32c	Æ 11.53	26 ↑		ℒ instead of cross	
			(b) Small		
			Same, but smaller	Same, but smaller	
33.1	Æ 3.77	21 ?		Obscure	
*33.2	Æ 2.73	21 ?		Obscure	
			Class 6 (large)		
			Romanus I alone		
*34.1	Æ 8.38	28 ↘			
*34.2	Æ 7.65	25 ↘			
			Class 7		
			Romanus I alone		
*35	Æ 4.78	19 ↑		Cross on two steps, crosslets at extremities of arms. To l. and r., pellet	

32b.2 Swiss Collection 1956
32c Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. —
The repetition of the monogram on the reverse is due to a mistake in the casting, and does not make of this a separate type.
33.1 Schindler 1960
W. p. 457, note 1, R. 1890, Or. 40–1
Oreshnikov's coins are smaller than these (15 mm.), but they probably represent the same denomination.
33.2 Schindler 1960
34.1 Shaw 1947
W. —, R. —, Or. 32
34.2 Peirce 1948
35 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. —, Or. 53

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Class 8		
					Romanus I alone		
*36	Æ	2.44	18	↑			921–944
					Class 9		
					Constantine VII alone		
*37.1	Æ	2.35	18	↑	K ω	Same as Class 5	945
37.2	Æ	2.23	18	↗			
					Class 10		
					Constantine VII and Romanus II		
*38.1	Æ	3.86	18	↘	Pellet border	Pellet border	945–959
38.2	Æ	3.69	19	↓			
38.3	Æ	3.40	19	↓			
38.4	Æ	2.98	19	↓			
38.5	Æ	2.96	18	↓			
38.6	Æ	2.92	19	↓			
*38.7	Æ	2.88	18	↓			
38.8	Æ	2.51	19	↓			

36 Peirce 1948
W. p. 469, R. —, Or. 55–6
37.1 Schindler 1960 from Egger 1916
W. 58, R. —, Or. 47
37.2 Peirce 1948
38 The pellet border on coins of this class is not clearly discernible on Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 8, but the molds were probably worn and I imagine that it was always intended to be present.
38.1 Peirce 1948 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30
W. 77–78, R. 1910 This coin, Or. 48
38.2 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vii. 28
38.3 Whittemore
38.4 Schindler 1960 from Beisser 28. iii. 44
38.5 Peirce 1948
38.6 Schindler 1960 from Egger 1916
38.7 Peirce 1948
38.8 Schindler 1960

ROMANUS II

9 (?) November 959 – 15 March 963

Formally Augustus from 6 April 945

Colleagues: Basil II (from 22 April 960)
Constantine VIII (from 962, probably 30 March)

Romanus II was born in 939 and made co-emperor by his father at the age of six, after the downfall of the Lecapeni. He succeeded Constantine VII as sole emperor in November 959. The chroniclers praise him for his good looks and kindly disposition, but he in fact seems to have been weak-willed and frivolous, inheriting a family tendency to overindulgence in the pleasures of the table. He also inherited his father's poor health, which brought him to an early death on 15 March 963.[1] He played no part in the great achievements of his reign, the reconquest of Crete and a series of resounding military successes in southeastern Asia Minor and Syria, which were due entirely to the abilities and good fortune of his commander-in-chief, Nicephorus Phocas. He was twice married. His first marriage as a child to Bertha of Provence, who was renamed Eudoxia, has left its memorial in one of the most beautiful of surviving Byzantine ivories, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale. His second marriage was to Anastasia, the daughter of a tavern keeper, who on becoming empress took the name of Theophano. By her he had two sons, Basil and Constantine, born in 958 and 961 respectively. Basil was crowned co-emperor at Easter 960 (22 April) and Constantine two years later, probably at Easter 962 (30 March).[2]

[1] Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 344. On Romanus' brief reign, in addition to the accounts in Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State* and other standard works, see G. Schlumberger, *Un empereur byzantin au dixième siècle: Nicéphore Phocas* (Paris, 1890).

[2] Basil was a year old when Constantine VII died (Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., p. 469; cf. Ostrogorsky and Stein in *Byzantion*, 7 [1932], 197 and 198, note 1), and was crowned at Easter 960, i.e., 22 April (Cedrenus, II. 338–9). Constantine was born after Constantine VII's death (Theoph. Cont., p. 473), and according to Psellus was two years younger than Basil (*Chron.*, i. 37 compared with ii. 1 [ed. Renauld, I. 24, 25]). This is contradicted by Cedrenus (*loc. cit.*), who says that he was *born* the year after Basil's coronation. Historians have customarily followed Psellus and assumed that Cedrenus meant to say that Constantine was *crowned* a year later than Basil; they consequently place his birth in 960 and assume that he was crowned at Easter 961. A later date for the coronation, however, is shown by the consistent dating of documents from Byzantine Italy. In two of May 962 the only emperors known are Romanus II (in his seventeenth year) and Basil (in his third), while later documents show that Constantine must have been crowned between September 961 and August 962. The probable day would have been Easter, the festival on which his father and brother had been crowned before him, i.e., 30 March 962, and 961 is consequently preferable for the date of his birth. See N. Oikonomidès, "La cronologia dell'incoronazione dell'imperatore bizantino Costantino VIII (962)," *Studi Salentini*, 19 (1965), 172–5.

Romanus II's coinage, or rather its almost complete absence, is difficult to explain. Only three specimens of his solidi are known, two of them being at Dumbarton Oaks; their tiny lettering shows that they must belong to Romanus II, not Romanus I. They continue the tradition of characterized portraiture begun under Leo VI and carried on by Romanus I's projected solidus and miliaresion of 931 and Constantine VII's solidi of 945.[3] No. 2 has an exceptionally interesting obverse type, since its representation of Christ is rare in Byzantine art and it never reappears in the coinage. Sabatier attributed to Romanus a solidus having on the obverse a representation of the Virgin crowning the emperor, but Wroth rightly regards this as a misread coin of John I.

No Constantinopolitan coins of Romanus II in silver or copper are known at all. I was for a time disposed to attribute to him the pattern miliaresion of Romanus I (above, p. 555, No. 19), but the portraiture is identical with that of the pattern solidus of 931 (No. 9), on which the emperor is associated with a younger Constantine; so its attribution to Romanus I is beyond doubt. Sabatier gave to Romanus II the folles here assigned to Romanus I.[4] There are several features of the coin favoring such an attribution, notably a portrait differing from that of the coins of 931 and the spelling RWMAIWN on the reverse, for this recurs under Nicephorus I and contrasts with the ROMEON of other coins of Constantine VII's reign. But the difference in portraiture is to be explained by a difference in date, and the evidence of overstriking, as Wroth pointed out, shows conclusively that the "Romanus" folles frequently served as undertypes for coins of the later years of Constantine VII's reign, and must therefore belong to Romanus I. It is possible that silver and copper types of Romanus I may turn up in the future, but even if they do, they can never have represented substantial issues. One would have expected the great military activity of the reign to have involved a large output of small change, but in fact economy and government alike must have managed to get along with the very considerable coinages of Constantine VII's reign.

There was, however, a copper coinage at Cherson. Sabatier, followed by Oreshnikov, attributed to Romanus II three types of coin: (1) ones having a cruciform monogram of PWMA and a cross on steps, (2) ones having a bust and a bar monogram of PWM, and (3) ones having an ill-shaped monogram of PWM and another with the letters BA, which he interpreted as a reference to Romanus' co-emperor Basil. Miss Sokolova, I think rightly, has transferred the second (above, p. 570, No. 30) to Romanus I, when bust types were in favor, and I would give the third to the same ruler, interpreting the BA as *basileus*. The first, on the other hand, I would leave to Romanus II, since cruciform monograms had come into fashion by the mid-century, when they occur on the last issue of Constantine VII (with Romanus II) and on those of Nicephorus II, John Zimisces, and Basil II. Wroth, on the other hand, prefers to give this type to Romanus I.

[3] Cf. Bellinger, "Byzantine Notes, 5. Three Imperial Portraits," *MN*, 13 (1967), 141–8. This does not take account of the portraits of Romanus I.

[4] He is followed by Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, 257.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			SOLIDUS		
			Class I		
			Bust of Christ Pantocrator (Type VIIIa)		
			+IhSXPSRЄXRЄGNΛ NTIЧM Bust of Christ Pantocrator facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having three pellets in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand in sling of cloak raised in blessing, l. clasps book to breast	ROMΛN'ΛVT OCR ΛT'ROM' Bust of Romanus II facing, bearded, wearing elaborate jeweled robes and heavy crown with cross and pendilia. In l. hand, globus surmounted by long cross with pellets at extremities	959–963
*1	Ⓐ 4.41	21 ↓			
			Class II		
			Bust of Christ (Type VI)		
			Same inscription Similar type, but Christ's r. hand is	Same inscr. and type	

1, 2 These coins, each of them then believed to be unique, were illustrated in *Bulletin Number One (1940–1950)* of the Dumbarton Oaks Library and Collection (Washington, 1950), and have since been reproduced several times, notably by Bellinger in *MN*, 13 (1967), 142 and Pl. XXXII. 9, 10. The letters of the inscriptions are very small and badly formed, especially on the reverse: P is a vertical stroke with a pellet or a slight projection to its right, S is Σ, R is Π with a pellet or thickening above it, etc. The terminal ROM' is virtually illegible. I adhere to the practice of describing the side with the bust of Christ as the obverse, though its greater sharpness and a slight concavity in the surface suggest that it was struck with the *upper* die.

1 Peirce 1948 from Prince Philipp Sale 20. ii. 28, lot 653 (as Constantine VII)
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			held horizontally and turned inwards in benediction, while a fold of the himation is wound round and conceals his l. hand holding the book, which is differently decorated		959–963
*2	N 4.38	21 ↓			
			Cherson		
				Cross on two steps, crosslets at extremities. To l. and r., pellet	
3a.1	Æ 5.84	20 ↙			
3a.2	Æ 4.43	20 ↙			
*3a.3	Æ 3.31	19 ↓			
*3a.4	Æ 2.82 chipped	20 ↙			
3a.5	Æ 2.80	17 ↑	Obscure		
(3b)	Æ 4.23	19	(W. p. 458, Nos. 32–4; Or. 52)	Same	

2 Peirce 1948 from Spink iv. 36
W. —, R. —
A second specimen of this coin is now in the British Museum. It appeared as No. 21 in Listino 3/4 of Ars et Nummus (Milan), March-April 1969.

3a.1 Schindler 1960
W. —, R. 1891, Or. 51

3a.2 Schindler 1960

3a.3 Peirce 1948

3a.4 Swiss Collection 1956

3a.5 Whittemore

THEOPHANO, Regent

963 (15 March – 16 August)

Nominal Emperors: Basil II and Constantine VIII

Romanus II's death left his two sons, aged respectively five and three, as nominal emperors under the regency of their beautiful and unscrupulous mother.[1] It was clear to Theophano that her best chance of maintaining her own position and the rights of her children was by alliance, if necessary by a marriage alliance, with Romanus' great general Nicephorus Phocas, a middle-aged widower, then at the height of his popularity and reputation. Nicephorus, perhaps by prior arrangement with Theophano, was acclaimed emperor by his troops at Caesarea on 2 July[2] and marched on Constantinople. After a few days of fighting all resistance was broken, and Nicephorus was crowned by the patriarch in Saint Sophia on 16 August.[3] He took immediately the rank of senior Augustus, and the regency thus came to an end. On 20 September he married Theophano.[4]

There were thus five months in 963 for which one might expect a coinage in the names of Basil and Constantine, possibly though not necessarily in association with Theophano. No such coinage has been satisfactorily identified. None of the solidi of Basil II's later reign can well be pushed back to this period. The one which is most distinct from the others, the recently discovered coin (below, p. 623, No. 10) with the emperors holding a labarum instead of a cross, is a tetarteron, a denomination introduced only by Nicephorus, and has an IC XC in the field which links it with solidi of the later years of the reign of John Zimisces; the imperial busts are in any case quite inappropriate for infants five years old or less. Some years ago Dr. Metcalf suggested[5] that a solidus found in the Polish-Bulgarian excavations at Sviščov in Bulgaria, which was described as having on the obverse a bust of Christ and on the reverse the busts of Basil and Constantine, might possibly belong to 963, since the reverse inscription seemed to read bASILIO[SET] CONSTANT'AY[ꝟꝟ'b'] instead of Basil II's customary +bASILCCONSTANTIbR. The obverse and reverse of the coin, however, did not seem to match, and inquiry showed that a mistake had been made in the illustration, an obverse of Constantine VII and

[1] In addition to Schlumberger's monograph on Nicephorus, see the brilliant sketch of Theophano by Diehl, *Byzantine Portraits* (New York, 1927), 206–31.

[2] Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 348.

[3] *Ibid.*, II. 351.

[4] *Loc. cit.*

[5] *HBN*, 7 (1967), 355, citing W. Hensel, "Recherches archéologiques polonaises sur le haut moyen âge en Bulgarie en 1961," *Archaeologia Polona*, 6 (1964), 190, fig. 7. Dr. Metcalf called attention to a number of other serious and quite inexcusable errors in the plate. I am grateful to Prof. R. Kiersnowski for having procured for me a photograph of the coin, which made its identity clear.

Romanus, with a bust of Christ, having been inadvertently linked with a reverse of Basil I and Constantine.

In silver there exists a rare miliaresion (below, p. 627, No. 16) which belongs to the very beginning of Basil II's reign, before the main type of the years 977–1025 was introduced, but neither type nor style gives any clear indication of whether it belongs to 963 or to the early months of 976. I have catalogued it with the coinage of Basil II's effective reign, but it is quite possible that future research may result in its redating to 963. As for the copper, the coinage after 976 provides us with nothing that could be moved back, since it belongs to the period of the Anonymous Folles, but there is one class of Basil I and his son Constantine, that showing two facing busts (Pl. XXX. 8a), which on grounds of type and style could well be moved forward. The type is one to which the mid-tenth century was well accustomed, and the careless fabric and irregular edges of the coins of this class resemble those of folles of this period and contrast with the more careful workmanship of the late ninth century. The evidence of overstrikes, however, makes any transfer impossible; Class 1 of Basil I is securely linked with other issues of this emperor and with those of Leo VI's reign.

There remains an alleged follis in the name of Theophano, having on the obverse a bust of the Virgin *orans* within a border of large globules and on the reverse a bust of Theophano holding a scepter, with the inscription ΘΕΟϜ Α ΠΟΑΥΓ. A specimen in the collection of the Marquis de Lagoy was published by F. de Saulcy[6] and reproduced by Sabatier (Pl. XLVII. 9). Its present whereabouts is unknown, and it is certainly a forgery. It would be contrary to precedent for an empress regent to strike coins in her own name alone, without reference to her colleagues. The obverse, as Wroth noted (p. 470), is identical with that of Class G of the Anonymous Folles, and the general appearance is that of an eleventh-century coin. The reverse, which shows no trace of the double striking that has seriously affected the obverse, was apparently created by recutting on the part of a modern forger. Wroth was inclined to accept it on what he believed to be the authority of de Saulcy, which he rated very highly, but he had misunderstood de Saulcy's position. This scholar had described it in his *Essai*[7] on the authority of Banduri (whence Eckhel and Mionnet), but said bluntly that he believed it to be a forgery, perhaps of the sixteenth century. His examination of Lagoy's specimen only confirmed his doubts, and it was as a forgery that he published it in 1842.

[6] "Catalogue descriptif de monnaies byzantines inédites," *RN* (1842), 414–15, Pl. XIX. 4. The coin subsequently passed into the Penon and Racine collections.

[7] *Essai de classification des suites monétaires byzantines* (Metz, 1836), 238–9.

NICEPHORUS II Phocas

15 August 963 – 10 December 969

Colleagues: Basil II and Constantine VIII

The reign of Nicephorus II raises no chronological difficulties. It was one of great military glory, but the consequent heavy taxation and drain on manpower, a spate of legislative activity which bore heavily on the monasteries and on the poor, and Nicephorus' own frugal and ascetic habits did nothing to enhance his popularity. Theophano eventually decided to dispose of him with the aid of John Zimisces, Nicephorus' nephew and the ablest and most attractive of his generals. Their intrigue culminated in her husband's murder, in the most atrocious and horrifying circumstances, on the night of 10/11 December 969.

Nicephorus' coinage is relatively simple and raises no problems, though where there is more than one class we are unable to date the transition from one to the other. Although he had undertaken to respect the rights of his stepsons, Constantine appears on none of his coins and Basil only on his first issue of solidi, never on the silver or copper. One may indeed suspect that the introduction of Class II of the solidus, with the figures of the Virgin and Nicephorus, was as much due to a wish to remove Basil's effigy from the coins as to one of rendering due honor to his benefactress.

The coinage in general seems to have been modeled on that of Romanus I. Class II of the solidus shows Nicephorus being crowned by the Virgin, just as on Class V of the solidi of Constantine VII's reign Romanus I is shown crowned by Christ, and the inscription ΘЄOTOKЄ BOHΘЄI ΝICЄF' ᴅЄCΠ' echoes the KVRIЄ BOHΘЄI ROMANΩ ᴅЄSPOTH of Romanus I. The design of the miliaresion, with the emperor's bust in a medallion at the intersection of the arms of the cross, goes back to Romanus I's coinage of 931–44, though the details are more practically arranged: a four-lobed medallion made room for the cross on the imperial crown and for ΝI CF beside the bust instead of in the field. The folles have a general resemblance to those of Romanus I, showing the emperor with a square face and heavy beard, but the dress and insignia are different. Class 1 shows Nicephorus wearing a costume which is neither loros nor chlamys. There is an outer garment with a deep V-shaped opening in front; beneath it is a rich undergarment shown as a pattern of squares and pellets, the latter mainly circular but pear-shaped in the corner squares at the top, the whole surmounted by a jeweled collar. On the same class the emperor holds a globus surmounted by a trefoil instead of the normal cross or patriarchal cross. Its significance is unknown, and there are few other cases of its use on Byzantine coins.[1] Only on coins of Class 2 are the imperial costume and insignia more normal in character.

[1] See Introduction, p. 132.

The epigraphy of the coins is interesting in a number of respects. The reverse of Class II of the solidus is notable as having the first consistently Greek lettering in the Byzantine series, instead of the usual mixture of Greek and Latin forms: NIKH+OP' KAI RACIΛ' AVΓ' R' P', as against the NICHFOP' CЄ bASIL' AЧϹϹ b R' of Class I. The letter forms, however, are generally bad, especially on the obverse, the tendency to reduce them to the fewest number of strokes and pellets, which had already been apparent in the later years of Constantine VII's reign and in that of his son, being now carried to extremes. A is often unbarred; X has a form like an N, or like the Hebrew letter *aleph*, being made with an S-like transverse stroke and short upright ones at the opposite corners (ℕ); P is Γ or I·; S is Ɔ; b is a vertical stroke with a slight thickening at the bottom; R tends to be either a K or an Π with a thickened top or with a pellet above it. The result is that the opening XPS of the obverse inscription has the appearence of ℕΓƆ or ℕIƆ, while the final *b*(*asileus*) *R*(*omaion*) becomes I'K' instead of b'R' or b'P'. It was possibly the proliferation of corrupt forms that resulted in the adoption of consistently Greek lettering for the reverses of Class II, but the obverse inscription was left unchanged and remained as bad as before.

From the monetary point of view, the most important event of Nicephorus' reign was the introduction of the tetarteron, a variety of gold coin slightly lighter than the solidus of standard weight but identical with it in outward appearance. Byzantine tradition regarded its introduction as a measure of official debasement: Nicephorus' greed, or at least his need for money, gave him the idea of settling government obligations in the lighter coin while requiring taxes and other dues to be paid in those of full weight. Other explanations are possible, for it was not the first time that light-weight solidi had been issued. The problem is discussed elsewhere.[2] The introduction of the tetarteron, however, makes necessary a change in the way in which the gold coinage is described in the catalogue. Up to now the Latin term *solidus* has been employed. Henceforward it will be more convenient to use the Greek *nomisma* and to distinguish between its two forms, the *histamenon*, the coin of full weight, and the *tetarteron*, its lighter counterpart.

[2] Introduction, pp. 28–39.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			NOMISMA		
			Class I		
			Nicephorus II and Basil II		
			(a) Mixed lettering on rev., CЄ for "and"		
			HISTAMENON		
			+IhSXΓSRЄXRЄϹ NΛNTIhM Bust of Christ Pantocrator (Type VIIIb) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having pellets in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand in sling of cloak raised in blessing, l. clasps book to breast	ПICHFOP'CЄbASIL'AЧ ϹϹbR' To l., bust of Nicephorus facing, bearded, wearing traditional loros and crown with cross. To r., smaller bust of Basil II facing, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross. Between them they hold patriarchal cross	963–969
*1.1	Ѧ 4.41	21 ↓		FOR for FOP Ends bR	
*1.2	Ѧ 4.39	21 ↓			
1.3	Ѧ 4.29 pierced	22 ↓		CЄbAS illegible Ends IR'	
1.4	Ѧ 4.29 pared	21 ↙			

1–5 There are usually two pellets in the vertical arm of the cross in Christ's nimbus and three in those to left and right. Occasionally there are three in the upper one, or only two in the others. These divergences have not been noted, since they seem to depend simply on the space available.

1.1 Peirce 1948
W. 2, R. 1911

1.2 Peirce 1948

1.3–4 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(b) Greek lettering on rev., KAI for "and"		963–969
					HISTAMENON		
					Same inscr. and type	NIKH+OP,KAIRACIΛ' AVΓ,R'P, Same type	
*2.1	Æ	4.38	21	↓			
2.2	Æ	4.37	21	↘			
2.3	Æ	4.37	21	↘			
2.4	Æ	4.36	20	↓			
					TETARTERON		
					Same inscr. and type	Same inscr. and type	
*3	Æ	4.16	20	↙			
					Class II		
					Nicephorus II alone		
					HISTAMENON		
					Same inscr. and type	+ΘEOTOC'b'HΘ' hICHF,∂ESP To l., bust of the Virgin facing, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion; to l. and r. of her M̄ and Θ̄ To r., bust of Nicephorus facing, bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia. They hold between them a patriarchal cross	

2.1 Peirce 1948
W. 1, R. —
2.2–4 Whittemore
3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*4.1	Æ 4.43	21 ↓	Begins +·IhS	Pellet below M̄	963–969
*4.2	Æ 4.42	22 ↓		I below M̄	
4.3	Æ 4.41	21 ↙	Begins +·IhS	Ends ϴЄSP′	
4.4	Æ 4.41	21 ↘			
4.5	Æ 4.39	21 ↓		I below M̄ Ends ϴЄS	
4.6	Æ 4.39	20 ↓		Ends ϴЄSP′	
*4.7	Æ 4.38	21 ↓	Ends M′	Ends ϴЄS′	
4.8	Æ 4.37	22 ↙	Ends h′M	Ends ϴЄSP′	
4.9	Æ 4.36	21 ↙		Pellet below M̄ Ends ϴЄS	
*4.10	Æ 4.36 pierced	21 ↘	Arms of the cross in nimbus with double lines	I below M̄	
4.11	Æ 4.36	21 ↓			
4.12	Æ 4.36 pierced	21 ↓	Ends N′M	I below M̄	
4.13	Æ 4.29 pierced	21 ↓		Ends ϴЄSP′	
4.14	Æ 4.29 pierced	22 ↙	Double struck	I below M̄	
			TETARTERON		
			Same inscr. and type	Same inscr. and type	
*5.1	Æ 4.16	20 ↓		Ends ϴЄS′	
*5.2	Æ 4.13	21 ↓	Begins +·IhS	Ends ϴЄSP′	

4.1 Schindler 1960 from Egger 10. ii. 16
W. 3–5, R. 1912
4.2 Peirce 1948
4.3–5 Whittemore
4.6 Friend 1957
4.7 Peirce 1948 from Prince Philipp Sale 20. ii. 28, lot 656
4.8–10 Whittemore
4.11 Peirce 1948 from Fejer
4.12 Whittemore
4.13 Whittemore
4.14 Swiss Collection 1956
5.1 Peirce 1948
W. —, R. —
5.2–3 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*5.3	AV 4.05	20 ↓	Arms of cross with double lines	Ends ƬЄSP'	963–969
*5.4	AV 4.04 clipped	20 ↑			
			MILIARESION		
			– ·:· – +ПICHF' ЄПX· ѠΛVƬO CRΛT,ЄVSЄb' bASILЄVS RѠMAIѠ' – ·:· –	+IhSЧSXRI SƬЧS ПICA ✱ Cross crosslet on base and globe over two steps. In its center four-lobed medallion with bust of Nicephorus wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia. To l. of his head П I To r., C F Triple border of dots, the middle one ornamented with eight globules	
*6.1	Æ 2.92	24 ↓			
6.2	Æ 2.90	22 ↓			
6.3	Æ 2.89	23 ↙			
6.4	Æ 2.81	23 ↑			
6.5	Æ 2.80	24 ↓			
6.6	Æ 2.80	24 ↑			
6.7	Æ 2.75	23 ↑			
6.8	Æ 2.68	22 ↓			
6.9	Æ 2.65	23 ↑			

5.4 Peirce 1948 from Raymond ii. 30
6.1 Schindler 1960
W. 6–7, R. 1913
6.2–7 Whittemore
6.8 Peirce 1948 from Fejer
6.9 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vii. 30

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
6.10	Æ 2.60	23 ↓		⁝ for ✱	963–969
6.11	Æ 2.52	23 ↘			
*6.12	Æ 2.48	24 ↓		⁝ for ✱	
			FOLLIS		
			Class 1		
			+ΠICIFRb ASILEVRω Bust facing, bearded, wearing robe with V-shaped opening and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, cross scepter; in l., globus surmounted by trefoil	+ΠICHF ЄΠΘЄωbA SILЄVSRω ΠAIωΠ	
7.1	Æ 12.69 thick flan	28 ↘	]ЄRb ΛSIL[	Bottom line off flan	
*7.2	Æ 10.71	28 ↘			
7.3	Æ 10.47	28 ↙	Rω illegible		
7.4	Æ 9.09	28 ↘			
7.5	Æ 8.32	27 ↓	Illegible. Overstruck on rev. of Con. VII	Top line illegible	
7.6	Æ 7.90	27 ↙	]Rω Traces of two earlier strikings		

6.10 Peirce 1948 from Spink viii. 28
6.11 Whittemore
6.12 Peirce 1948 from Platt iii. 26
7–8 There is nothing to show the order of these two classes. Most specimens are overstruck, usually on ones of Class 5 of Constantine VII. I have seen no case of one class of Nicephorus being overstruck on the other. Where the undertype is still identifiable, it may be taken for granted that substantial portions of the overtype are illegible. Details in such cases have not been noted.
7.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 9–12, R. 1915
7.2 Peirce 1948 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30, lot 1915 This coin
7.3 Schindler 1960
7.4–6 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
7.7	Æ 7.58 worn	23 ↓	Inscr. illegible		963–969
7.8	Æ 7.27	23 ↘	]ICHFRb[ ]ЄVRω	Top line illegible	
7.9	Æ 6.28	26 ↘	Injured by having turned over in striking; to l., +ПIC[of rev. inscr.	Trace of obv. type to l.	
7.10	Æ 6.22	28 ↘	Overstruck on Class 5 of Con. VII		
7.11	Æ 5.98	24 ↘	]CIЕR[	Bottom line illegible	
7.12	Æ 5.80	29 ↙	Overstruck on Class 5 of Con. VII		
7.13	Æ 5.63	26 ↘	Overstruck on Class 5 of Con. VII		
*7.14	Æ 5.39	23 ↓	] ASILЄVRω		
7.15	Æ 5.24	26 ↓	Overstruck +ПICI[		
7.16	Æ 2.75 thin flan cut down	22 ↑	Inscr. illegible	Bottom line off flan	
			Class 2		
			Same inscription Similar bust, but Nicephorus wears modified loros with collar-piece and holds labarum in r. hand, gl. cr. in l.	Same inscription	

7.7 Peirce 1948
7.8 Shaw 1947
7.9 Schindler 1960
7.10 Swiss Collection 1956
7.11 Whittemore
7.12 Swiss Collection 1956
7.13 Whittemore
7.14–16 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*8.1	Æ	10.41	28	↙			963–969
8.2	Æ	7.74	25	↙	Begins +ΠCIFR		
8.3	Æ	7.52	25	↓			
8.4	Æ	7.39	25	↓	Inscr. illegible. Overstruck on Class 5 of Con. VII		
8.5	Æ	6.86	27	↓	] IFRb A[		
*8.6	Æ	6.18	25	↘	Overstruck on Class 5 of Con. VII		
8.7	Æ	4.89	24	↓	Overstruck. Inscr. illegible		
*8.8	Æ	4.79	23	↓	Inscr. off flan		
8.9	Æ	4.41	23	↓	]CIFRb[		
8.10	Æ	3.91 clipped	20	↓	Inscr. off flan		
					Cherson		
*9	Æ	3.17	19	↓			

8.1 Peirce 1948 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30, lot 1914 This coin
W. 8, R. 1914
8.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28
8.3 Schindler 1960
8.4 Swiss Collection 1956
8.5 Whittemore
8.6 Swiss Collection 1956
8.7 Whittemore
This and the next three coins are struck on small, rather thin flans.
8.8 Swiss Collection 1956
8.9 Peirce 1948 from Platt 5. vi. 26
8.10 Swiss Collection 1956
9 Schindler 1960 from Egger 1916
W. 13, R. 1916

JOHN I Zimisces

11 December 969 – 11 January 976

John Zimisces' accession can be dated from his proclamation as emperor on the day after the murder of his predecessor, though it was not till a week later (19 December) that he was crowned in Saint Sophia.[1] The patriarch's consent to the ceremony was given only in return for an undertaking to expel Theophano from the palace. The empress-regent was banished to Prinkipo, and the titular emperors, Basil and Constantine, were ignored by John throughout his reign. The new emperor linked himself to the glamor of the Macedonian house by marrying Theodora, a daughter of Constantine VII, who was released by the Church from the vows she had been compelled to take by her brother Romanus II. His short reign was one of brilliant military success, but it was probably the strain of his campaigns that resulted in his sudden death on 10 January 976.[2]

The unedifying manner of John's accession affected neither his reputation for piety nor his devotion to the Virgin, both of which are reflected in his coinage. The first resulted in the introduction of the new type of follis on which a bust of Christ and a religious inscription were substituted for the traditional bust of the emperor and his name and titles. The second lay behind the retention of the bust of the Virgin on his solidi. None of his coins make any allusion to the existence of his nominal colleagues Basil and Constantine.

John I's nomisma is like that of Nicephorus II in that it has the facing bust of Christ Pantocrator on the obverse and those of the emperor and the Virgin on the other. Since the Virgin is shown crowning him, however, the relative position of the two figures on the coin has been reversed; he is on the left and she is on the right, so that her right hand may touch his crown. There is a *Manus Dei* blessing him from above. Both full weight and lighter coins were struck.

On what was to become the main type of the reign, John is shown holding a long patriarchal cross, but it was preceded by a series of rare and short-lived experimental varieties on which other insignia were used. Only after they had failed to give satisfaction did the die-sinkers come back to the customary patriarchal cross which the Byzantines by now expected to see on their solidi. There are two main classes. On coins of Class I the inscription is unbroken and the emperor holds a globus; on those of Class II the inscription is broken and he holds a cross. Within each class there are several varieties.

Class I. Inscription unbroken, emperor holds globus.

(a) Globus surmounted by trefoil, no cross in field. A globus with trefoil was unusual but not unprecedented, since Nicephorus II had been shown holding such an object on Class 1 of his folles. Its significance is unknown.[3]

[1] Leo Diaconus, vi. 1, 4 (Bonn ed., pp. 93, 98).
[2] *Ibid.*, x. 11 (p. 178).
[3] See Introduction, p. 132.

(b) Similar, but with large cross in upper field.

(c) Globus plain, and the shaft of the cross has been prolonged downward to end on a base just above it. The four arms of the cross each end in the large globule, and a small further cross-arm (without terminal globules) has been added as an afterthought to the die, turning a Latin cross into a patriarchal one.

Class II. Inscription broken, emperor holds cross.

(a) Emperor holds plain cross. The globus has disappeared and the shaft of the cross (not a patriarchal one) has been prolonged downward, so that it can be held by the emperor in the usual way. This variety, unlike the preceding ones, is moderately common.

(b) As last, but the cross is a patriarchal one. This forms the main issue of the reign. On what are probably the earlier coins the arms of the cross end in globules; later they are plain. Sometimes there is a pellet on the shaft of the cross. This is a survival of what was originally the lower terminal pellet of the cross, and its presence or absence was not intended to mark off separate groups of coins.

(c) Same as last, but IC̈ XC̈ in the field of the obverse. This and the next variety are very rare.

(d) Same as last, but Ï Ẍ instead of IC̈ XC̈.

There are histamena and tetartera of most of these varieties, and it is evident that nomismata of the two standards went on being issued throughout the reign. The full histamena usually weigh *c*. 4.40 g. the tetartera between 4.10 g. and 4.20 g. Isolated nomismata occur of very inferior weight, in the neighborhood of 3.70 g. It has been suggested that they represent the *duo tetarton nomisma* of the *Book of the Prefect*, but this is quite uncertain.[4] The two specimens here are classed as tetartera (Nos. 6a.6–7), with a note calling attention to their exceptional character.

The miliaresion[5] resembles that of Nicephorus Phocas, but the medallion with the emperor's bust is a circle instead of a quatrefoil and is placed centrally instead of rather high on the cross. The type is extraordinarily uniform, but there are small varieties of ornament. That placed above and below the obverse in inscription is usually — ·:· —, but sometimes it is — ·:· — and occasionally — + —. The ornament at the end of the reverse inscription also varies slightly: usually it is ✱, but sometimes there is a larger central pellet (✱) or six dots in a circle (⁘) or a six-pointed star (✱). I doubt if these latter variations were intentional. The die-sinker usually made the ornament by punching six small pits on the die and then joining them up, but sometimes he forgot to do this or added a further pit in the center. The distinction between — ·:· —, — ·:· —, and — + — seems more clear-cut and had presumably some meaning. The coins weigh normally between 2.5 g. and 3. 0 g., but well-preserved specimens rise as high as 3.3 g. Often they are badly clipped. Specimens of poor workmanship, notably in the design of the letters, are common, and the coin was evidently the subject of imitation, though not to the same degree as the miliaresion of Basil II.

[4] See Introduction, pp. 30, 35.

[5] Wroth attributes two types of miliaresion to John Zimisces, but his Type 2, with a bust of the Virgin and no imperial name, belongs to Basil I (below, p. 611 and p. 631, No. 19).

John Zimisces' introduction of the Anonymous Folles is discussed elsewhere (p. 634ff.). Scylitzes seems to imply that it was effected in 972,[6] but his reference to it occurs in the context of a general account of the emperor's religious activities, and since there are no Constantinopolitan folles bearing John's name it is more reasonable to date the introduction of the new folles from 970. His Cherson coins are of the same general type as his predecessor's, with a monogram on either side.

[6] Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 413–14.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople NOMISMA HISTAMENON *Class I* Emperor holds globus		
			+IhSXISREXREϹNΛ NTIПM Bust of Christ Pantocrator (Type VIIIb), bearded, with cross nimbus having 2 pellets in lower arms, 1 in upper, wearing tunic and himation; r. arm raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. clasps book to breast	+ΘEOTOC'bOHΘ'IW ƆESP To l., bust of John facing, bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia, holding in l. hand, globus. To r., bust of the Virgin facing, nimbate, wearing mantle and maphorion, touching emperor's crown with her r. hand. Above, *Manus Dei*; to r., MΘ	969–976
			(a) Emperor's globus with trefoil, no cross in field		
*(1a)	A/ 4.42	21	(W. 4)	No MΘ in field. Ends ƆE', after which, M‖Θ,	
			(b) Same, but cross in field		
*1b	A/ 4.41	22 ↙	1 pellet in each cross-arm	In upper field center, large cross MΘ Reads bO'HΘ' for bOHΘ'	

1–6 The letters are small and their exact forms difficult to make out or reproduce. The S in IhSXIS is more like Ɔ, the *alpha* normally unbarred (Λ), and N more like II. The MΘ is usually without any mark of abbreviation.

(1a) Another specimen was in the Foreign Ambassador Sale, lot 643.

1b Whittemore
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(c) Plain globus, cross on base		969–976
						Base of cross prolonged downwards to end in base above globus. Cross with small additional bar.	
*1c	Æ	4.37	22	↓		M̄Θ̄ Ends ϹΟΕϹ, after which, Ṁ Θ̇	
					Class II		
					Emperor holds cross		
					Same inscr. and type	+ΘΕΟΤΟϹ ΒΟΗΘ'ΙΩ ΔΕϹΡ	
						Same type, but emperor holds cross	
					(a) Emperor holds plain cross		
*2.1	Æ	4.39	21	↙			
2.2	Æ	4.38	23	↓		M̄Θ̄	
					(b) Emperor holds patriarchal cross		
3.1	Æ	4.43	22	↓		Ends ϹΟΕϹ	
*3.2	Æ	4.40	22	↓		M̄Θ̄	
*3.3	Æ	4.39	22	↓	Double lines to top arm of cross	Ends ϹΟΕϹ	
3.4	Æ	4.39	22	↓			
3.5	Æ	4.38	23	↙		M̄Θ̄ Ends ϹΟΕϹ	

1c Friend 1957
W. —, R. —
The MΘ placed beside the Virgin and after the inscription, which puzzled Wroth (below, note to No. 4a), is unnecessary, as it duplicates that above the Virgin's head.

2.1–2 Whittemore
W. —, R. —

3.1–4 Whittemore
W. —, R. 1917f.

3.5 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
3.6	A 4.38	22 ↙			969–976
*3.7	A 4.34	21 ↘	Double lines to cross-arms	$\overline{\text{MΘ}}$	
3.8	A 4.24 clipped	21 ↙		Ends ϽЄS	
3.9	A 4.19 pierced	22 ↓		$\overline{\text{MΘ}}$ Ends ϽЄS	
			TETARTERON		
			Class I		
			Emperor holds globus		
			Inscr. and type as Class I of histamenon	Inscr. and type as Class I of histamenon	
			(a) Emperor's globus with trefoil, no cross in field		
4a	A 4.04	21 ↓	Double lines to cross-arms, no pellets	No MΘ in upper field. Ends ϽЄ′ after which, $\overline{\text{M}}$ Θ, Same die as 1a	
			(b) Same, but cross in field		
*4b	A 4.16	21 ↘		In upper field center, large cross $\overline{\text{MΘ}}$ Ends ϽЄSP′	

3.6 Peirce 1948 from Spink iii. 29
3.7 Swiss Collection 1956
3.8–9 Whittemore
4a Schindler 1960 from Dorotheum sale 24. iv. 56
W. 4 (histamenon), R. —
Wroth failed to understand the terminal $\overline{\text{MΘ}}$, making it part of the inscription as an unintelligible ΣΦ.
4b Whittemore
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Class II		
					Emperor holds cross		
					Inscr. and type as Class II of histamenon	Inscr. and type as Class II of histamenon	969–976
					(a) Emperor holds plain cross		
*5a	Æ	3.99	21	↓		M̄Θ̄ Ends ϹΕSP′	
					(b) Emperor holds patriarchal cross, no letters in obv. field		
6a.1	Æ	4.12	21	↓	Double lines to cross-arms	M̄Θ̄	
6a.2	Æ	4.10	22	↓		M̄Θ̄ Reads ΡΟΗΘ′ΙωϹΕS	
		pierced					
*6a.3	Æ	4.10	22	↓		Ends ϹΕS	
6a.4	Æ	4.04	21	↓		M̄Θ̄ Ends ϹΕS	
6a.5	Æ	4.04	21	↓		M̄Θ̄ Ends ϹΕS	
6a.6	Æ	3.89	21	↓			
6a.7	Æ	3.50	20	↓		M̄Θ̄	
					(c) Same, but İC XĊ in obv. field		
*6b	Æ	4.08	21	↓		M̄Θ̄ Reads ΡΟΗΘ′ΙωϹΕS	

5a Whittemore
W. —, R. —
6a.1–2 Whittemore
W. 2–3, R. —
6a.3–4 Peirce 1948
6a.5 Schindler 1960
6a.6 Whittemore
The abnormally low weight of this coin and the next is noted on p. 33. The coins may represent a distinct denomination.
6a.7 Friend 1957
6b Whittemore
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(d) Same, but I X in obv. field		969–976
*6c	Æ 4.14	21 ↙		MΘ Reads ROHΘ'IωTΘES	
			MILIARESION		
			+IωANNI, ENX·ωAVTO CRAT,EVSEb' bASILEVS RωMAIω' Ornaments above and below. Three borders of dots, the center one ornamented with eight globules	+IhSYSXRI STYSNI CA✱ Cross crosslet with terminal pellets on two steps, having in center a medallion with facing bust of John I, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross, flanked to l. and r. by I/ω and A/N Three borders of dots, the center one ornamented with eight globules	
			(a) Above and below inscr., — ·:· —		
*7a.1	Æ 3.20	23 ↑			
7a.2	Æ 3.17	23 ↗			
7a.3	Æ 3.10	23 ↓			

6c Whittemore
W. —, R. —
There were other specimens of this variety, from different dies, in the Prince Philipp of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha Sale (Hamburger 20. ii. 28), lot 659, and in the Foreign Ambassador Sale, lot 642, though since the weights are not given it is not possible to say whether they were tetartera or histamena. In the catalogue of the Prince Philipp Sale the IX was wrongly read as IN.

7a.1 Schindler 1960
W. 5, R. 1919

7a.2 Whittemore

7a.3 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*7a.4	Æ	3.05	24		Ends ✱	969–976
*7a.5	Æ	2.79	24	XṀ for Xω̇ ƨ for S		
7a.6	Æ	2.68	24		Ends ✱	
7a.7	Æ	2.66	23	ШTO for ΛVTO ⊢ for L in 4th line. Lower ornament obscured by double striking		
*7a.8	Æ	2.64	24	I for b	Ends ⁝⁝	
7a.9	Æ	2.60	23		Ends ✱	
7a.10	Æ	2.56	22		A/N for Λ/N	
7a.11	Æ	2.45	23			
7a.12	Æ	2.44	22		A/N for Λ/N Ends ✱	
7a.13	Æ	2.38	22			
7a.14	Æ	2.22 clipped	20	⊢ for L in 4th line		
7a.15	Æ	2.21	24	4th line reads bΛƨIH∈VS		
7a.16	Æ	2.16	21 ↑	Last letters of lines 2–4 omitted	A/N for Λ/N	
7a.17	Æ	2.00	22 ↑		A/N for Λ/N Ends ✱	
7a.18	Æ	1.83 pierced	21 ↓			

7a.4 Whittemore
7a.5 Whittemore
The very irregular lettering suggests that this is a contemporary imitation.
7a.6–7 Whittemore
7a.8 Whittemore
Very irregular lettering
7a.9–10 Whittemore
7a.11 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
7a.12–13 Whittemore
7a.14 Swiss Collection 1956
7a.15 Whittemore
7a.16 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
7a.17–18 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(b) Above and below inscr., – ⁘ –		969–976
*7b.1	Æ	3.32	23	↓		Ends ⁘	
7b.2	Æ	3.26	23	↙		A N for Λ N	
*7b.3	Æ	2.78	21	↓		A N for Λ N	
7b.4	Æ	2.77	23	↓		A N for Λ N	
7b.5	Æ	2.64	23	↙	II•ω for X•ω	Ends A✱	
7b.6	Æ	1.94	21	↑	T for τ in ΛVτO		
					(c) Above and below inscr., – + –		
*7c	Æ	3.15	23	↗		Symbol after ΠICΛ obscure	
					Cherson		
					Monogram of IωAHHOV Border of dots	Monogram of ΔEEΠOTOV Border of dots	
*8.1	Æ	3.75	19	↓			
8.2	Æ	3.10	18	↓			
*8.3	Æ	2.88	16	↓			

7b.1 Whittemore
W. 6, R. —
7b.2 Peirce 1948 from Platt iii. 26
7b.3–4 Whittemore
7b.5 Peirce 1948 from Spink iii. 29
7b.6 Whittemore
Poor fabric, perhaps a contemporary imitation
7c Schindler 1960
W. —, R. —
8.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 38, R. —
8.2 Whittemore
8.3 Peirce 1948

BASIL II Bulgaroctonos[1]

11 January 976 – 15 December 1025

Nominally from 22 April 960

Colleague: Constantine VIII

John Zimisces left no children, so that on his death there could be no immediate opposition to the emergence of Basil II and Constantine, the sons of Romanus II, from the obscurity in which they had been left during the reigns of Nicephorus II and John I. Although they were eighteen and sixteen years old respectively their upbringing had left them unfitted to exercise power. Dynastic interests were for a time represented by their great-uncle Basil, the *paracoemomenus*, an illegitimate son of Romanus Lecapenus, but, with the example of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces before them, a series of ambitious generals kept the Empire in turmoil, assuming in succession the title of emperor and managing at one time to withdraw the whole of Asia Minor from obedience to Constantinople. Not till 989 did the long period of intermittent civil war come to an end with the death of Bardas Phocas at the battle of Abydos. By that time Basil II had fully matured as a personality and a warrior. He had disposed of his all-powerful great-uncle, he had decided to keep his frivolous and pleasure-loving brother Constantine permanently from any share in real authority while according him the formal honors that were his due, and he was ready to launch out on the career of conquest which was to restore to the Empire wide territories which had not formed part of it since the seventh century. When he died, nearly forty years later (15 December 1025),[2] he left behind him a strong and unified state that stretched from Armenia to the Adriatic and from the Danube to the southern frontiers of Syria. He ranks with Heraclius as one of the ablest emperors in Byzantine history, and he was more fortunate than his great predecessor in not outliving his achievements.

Basil's half century of power saw many changes in the coinage:[3]

GOLD COINAGE. The tetarteron became a separate denomination in its own right, the module and the details of the type being differentiated from those of the histamenon. This denomination, which started the reign as a relatively small, thick coin still classical

[1] There is an excellent account of Basil's reign in Ostrogorsky, but the old monograph of G. Schlumberger, *L'Epopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle. 2e partie. Basile II* (Paris, 1900), retains much of its value.

[2] Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 479–80.

[3] What follows is largely based on my paper, "The Gold and Silver Coinage of Basil II," *MN*, 13 (1967), 167–87, of which I have sometimes retained the original wording. Little fresh material has come to light since it was written.

in its module, ended it as a much broader and thinner one essentially mediaeval in character. To some extent the change can be regarded as a tardy assimilation of the module of the gold to that of the silver, the histamena of the later years of the reign having the thin, flat fabric characteristic of the miliaresion since the early eighth century. The resemblance is underlined by the adoption of a triple linear border reminiscent of the triple dotted border of the silver coins.

SILVER COINAGE. The first type of the miliaresion had a reverse similar to that of Constantine VII, but after a few weeks this was replaced by one having the busts of the two emperors in the field. In 989 the emperor's victory at Abydos was commemorated by a rare special issue having as obverse type the bust of the Virgin Nikopoios. The size of the flan of this coin was increased in a manner comparable to that of the gold, but since the coin was already broad and thin the increase, from *c.* 25 mm. to *c.* 27 mm., was necessarily slighter. The large module was retained by the subsequent "normal" issue, but the coinage was by then affected by the so-called silver famine in the Islamic world and in the later years of the reign miliaresia were probably not being struck at all.

COPPER COINAGE. This continued without change the anonymous type introduced by John Zimisces, but at some date it underwent a drastic change, the weight being increased from about 5 g. to nearly 20 g. Presumably this was accompanied by an increase in its valuation in terms of money of account. Bellinger, in his study of the Anonymous Folles, suggested that the increase in weight perhaps followed the battle of Abydos and was a consequence of the securer position of the emperor after the end of the civil wars. Another possibility is that it occurred later and was connected with a drying up of the issue of miliaresia. The shortage of silver coins, which normally provide the intermediate stages between high-value gold and low-value copper, would have been made good, as in the sixth century, by the striking of unusually heavy and valuable coins of copper.

A notable feature of all these denominations is the proliferation of small differences in design, which in the main take the form of variations in the ornaments used in the nimbus of Christ on the gold and above and below the lines of inscription on the silver and copper. The meaning of these ornaments or privy-marks is unknown. It has been argued[4] that the varying proportions of folles with particular groups of ornaments in hoards and site finds may indicate the existence of provincial mints, and the great variations in the fabric and style of the coins, as can be seen on Plates XLVIII–LIV, give some support to such an idea.[5] Another possibility is that they were chronological in character, the marks being changed at regular intervals as an element in mint control, so that although the material at our disposal does not yet allow us to arrange the coins in chronological order, a study of muling, and of hoard evidence as it becomes available, will eventually allow this to be done. Certainly there are some remarkable coincidences between the number of privy-marks recorded and the periods of time over which particular classes were probably issued. Folles of Class A2 are generally attributed to Basil's reign (forty-nine years),

[4] D. M. Metcalf, "Provincial Issues among the Byzantine Bronze Coinage of the 11th Century," *HBN*, 15 (1961), 30–2.

[5] These discrepancies, however, are exaggerated as a result of Bellinger's numbering of the varieties; see below, p. 644.

with perhaps those of Constantine VIII (three years) and Romanus III (six years) as well, which on the assumption of the marks being changed annually would fit very well with the number of marks (between fifty and sixty) recorded for this series. The marks on Class II of the miliaresion, which on other grounds can be dated to 977–89, are twelve in number if Classes II A and II B followed each other consecutively, nine if they represent parallel issues, which once again fits the chronological framework required. The five recorded marks for Class IV would bring one on to the mid-990's, when there are other reasons for supposing that the minting of miliaresia may have greatly diminished, or even have come to an end. Finally, in the gold, twelve marks are recorded for Class II, for which 977–89 represents a likely dating, and twelve for Class III, which may have ended in 1001. In any case, the possibility of the ornaments forming a system of dating is one that deserves investigation.

Only two mints were certainly in operation during the reign, Constantinople and Cherson. The output of the latter was limited to cast copper coins of the usual type, having on the obverse an elaborate monogram of ΒΑϹΙΛΙΟΥ and on the reverse one of ΔΕϹΠΟΤΟΥ (below, No. 21). The coins are fairly common and were presumably struck down to 989, when Cherson was conquered by Vladimir of Kiev. The bulk of Basil's coinage was of the mint of Constantinople.

GOLD COINAGE. The gold coins of Basil II, like those of Nicephorus II and John Zimisces, consist partly of full-weight histamena and partly of tetartera. Both are basically of the same type, the obverse consisting of the facing bust of Christ Pantocrator and the reverse the two facing busts of Basil and Constantine holding a long cross between them, but within this broad uniformity of type many varieties in detail are found. There are differences in the size of the coins, in the size and decoration of the nimbus of Christ, in the costume of the emperors, in the form of the cross and the decoration on its shaft, in the way in which it is held by Basil, and finally in the presence or absence of a suspended crown above the latter's head.[6] Broadly speaking, coins without a suspended crown are earlier than those on which one is present; coins on which Basil wears a normal loros—what Wroth calls "a robe of lozenge pattern"—are earlier than those with the modified loros—Wroth's "robe of square pattern"; and the order in the form of the cross is (1) patriarchal cross, (2) patriarchal cross crosslet, and (3) simple cross. There is, however, an early group of coins with modified loros, a carry-over from the previous reign, and a late group of tetartera with patriarchal cross. The main features, and the changes they underwent, may be summarized as follows:

Module. The histamenon increased in size during the reign from about 21 mm. to about 26 mm., the earliest coins being interchangeable with the nomismata of John Zimisces and the latest ones with the histamena of Constantine VIII. The tetarteron, on the other hand, retained the traditional size of the nomisma, so that by the end of the reign

[6] In my article I referred to this as a *Manus Dei*, but since only the crown held by the *Manus Dei* is shown it is perhaps better to use the term "suspended crown." The object and its significance are clear in, e.g., the portrait of Basil II in his Psalter at Venice (D. Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium* [New York, 1959], Pl. XI) where the miniature crown over the emperor is held by a half-figure of Christ. On fifth-century coins having similar suspended crowns the *Manus Dei* is also often omitted.

the two denominations were completely distinct and could not be confused with one another.

Nimbus. On the earliest issues, as under preceding emperors, the head of Christ is almost as large as the nimbus, so that the only ornaments for which there is room in the arms of the nimbus cross are one or two small pellets. Quite early in the reign the size of the head of Christ was reduced and that of the nimbus enlarged, making possible the insertion in the arms of the cross of such ornaments as a cross of five pellets, a rosette of seven pellets, a wedge,[7] an annulet with a pellet in the center, and so forth. Only in the last issue of the reign was the series of ornaments in the cross-arms abandoned; instead the nimbus carries a pair of crescents in its upper two quarters.

The lines which mark the arms of the cross are usually straight, but in the last issue of nomismata they have serifs at the ends, where they join the outer circle of the nimbus. The same feature is found on the main issue of tetartera and forms one of the elements by which this can be approximately dated. On some issues a double line is used to mark the cross and/or the circumference of the nimbus. The same feature had sometimes occurred under John Zimisces. On a unique tetarteron of early date the bust of Christ is flanked by IC XC, another link with rare coins of John.

Costume. Save on the tetartera Basil's costume is either a modified loros, with square pattern, or a normal loros of the traditional type, while Constantine wears a chlamys, which on later issues has a decorated tablion. On the coins which the size of nimbus shows to be the earliest the modified loros was used, as under John Zimisces, but before the narrow nimbus had been abandoned this had been replaced by the traditional form of the garment. The latter lasted throughout the period of the patriarchal cross, after which the modified loros was reintroduced and lasted for the rest of the reign. The way in which the brothers grasp the central cross is not uniform, though Basil's hand is always above that of Constantine. On the earlier and later coins Basil grasps the cross in his right hand, so that his right arm has to be held in front of his body; on Class III he grasps it in his left hand and one sees only his forearm emerging from the side of his robe. In each case Constantine does the reverse of his brother. Evidently no significance can be attached to the gesture so far as ceremony and protocol were concerned.

The imperial costume on the tetarteron is more complicated. On the earliest type Basil wears a robe of square pattern which resembles, but is not identical with, the modified loros—there are fewer squares, and these are furnished with pear-shaped ornaments instead of circular pellets—while Constantine wears a robe having a V-shaped opening over an undergarment with a trefoil ornament. Some later classes conform to the pattern of the histamena, but others are original and distinctive in various ways. The last class, which is the commonest, shows Constantine once again wearing a robe with a V-shaped opening somewhat resembling that of the earliest coins.

Cross. The crosses are of the types referred to above. The ends of the cross-arms are sometimes triangular and sometimes formed by a pellet, depending on which type of

[7] Wroth, p. 484, note 1, describes this as a spear-head, which it certainly resembles, but since the other objects used to differentiate these coins are all geometrical, it is probably no more than a wedge. Sometimes the point is absent and it is virtually barrel-shaped.

punch was preferred by a particular die-sinker in setting about his work. The cross of Type D of the tetarteron is a variant of the patriarchal cross crosslet of Class III of the histamenon, being a kind of patriarchal cross *fourchée* with a pellet at the end of each arm. In classifying the objects which sometimes decorate the shaft of the cross one need not take account of a small central dot which is frequently though not invariably present, since it does no more than mark the point from which the die-sinker worked in executing the design.

The list of types is set out in Table 21, which is slightly modified from that in my article. The order of the classes of the histamena seems to me assured, but we have as yet no idea of the succession of ornaments within each class.[8] That of the tetartera, where we have to deal with types rather than classes, is less certain except at the start and the finish; for the intervening "issues," almost all known in unique examples, only very approximate dates can be suggested. In any case, the divergence of histamena and tetartera means that these must be discussed separately.

HISTAMENON

Class I (No. 1). January 977. Obv. Bust of Christ. Rev. Two busts holding simple patriarchal cross, Basil wearing modified loros.

This is the earliest issue of the reign—it is of small module, Christ's nimbus is narrow, the emperors have narrow, triangular features of traditional type—and is very rare, so that its period of output must have been very brief. Since one specimen in the British Museum (No. 7 below) is of tetarteron weight, the coins must belong to the opening weeks of 977 and not to Basil and Constantine's first "reign" in 963, to which one would otherwise be tempted to assign them. They are modeled on the last coinage of Constantine VII but show some more recent features, notably the modified loros worn by Basil and the treatment of Christ's beard, which takes the form of a series of lumpy "knots," as it had under Nicephorus II and John, instead of being made with short strokes, as under Constantine VII and Romanus II.[9]

Class II (No. 2). 977–989 (?). Obv. Same bust of Christ. Rev. Similar type, but Basil wears the normal loros, the nimbus of Christ is enlarged to allow the insertion of ornaments in its cross, other ornaments sometimes appear on the shaft of the patriarchal cross, and the module of the coins increases slightly with the passage of time from *c.* 20 mm. to *c.* 23 mm.

This issue saw a change in the portraiture of the two emperors, more especially in that of Basil, whose face broadens out and is shown more definitely bearded, like the effigies of Nicephorus II and John. The different habits of work of the die-sinkers can be seen in the way in which they set about reproducing details of the design, as for example the patriarchal cross. The ends of this are sometimes terminated with pellets, sometimes

[8] Mr. Bendall has kindly brought to my attention a mule between IIi (obverse) and IIj (reverse) and informed me of the existence of a small hoard (in trade, 1967) ending with five coins of Basil (IIa, IIc, IIIa [two, with reverse die-link], and IIIi), the relative condition of which bears out at least the sequence of classes.

[9] See Introduction, pp. 167–8.

TABLE 21 (A)

HISTAMENA OF BASIL II, CLASSES I–III

Without Suspended Crown

Class	Form of Basil's Loros	Cross		Ornament on Nimbus Cross		Comment
		Type	On Shaft	Narrow	Broad	
I	Modified	‡	Nothing (or dot)	·		
II (a)	Traditional	,,	,,	·		
(b)	,,	,,	,,	:		
(c)	,,	,,	,,		· above	Other arms hollowed out on die, as if 3 pellets originally
(cc)	,,	,,	,,		· above, nothing to sides	
(d)	,,	,,	,,		Bar	
(e)	,,	,,	,,		· · · on rim	
(f)	,,	,,	Pellet		,,	
(g)	,,	,,	▲		Wedge	
(h)	,,	,,	▲		≡	
(i)	,,	,,	,,		≡	Probably altered from (h)
(j)	,,	,,	⊤		⊙	
(k)	,,	,,	⊤		Nothing	
III (a)	Modified	✠	Nothing		:	
(b)	,,	,,	,,		·|·	
(bb)	,,	,,	,,		,,	Pellet in each quarter of cross
(c)	,,	,,	,,		·:·	
(d)	,,	,,	,,		≡	Double rim to nimbus
(e)	,,	,,	,,		≡	
(f)	,,	,,	,,		⁘	
(ff)	,,	,,	,,		⁙	
(g)	,,	,,	⌄		:	
(h)	,,	,,	·		Nothing	Double rim to nimbus
(i)	,,	,,	,,		≡	
(j)	,,	,,	,,		:	

TABLE 21 (B)

HISTAMENA OF BASIL II, CLASSES IV–VI

With Suspended Crown

Class	Form of Basil's Loros	Cross		Ornament on Nimbus Cross	Comment
		Type	On Shaft		
IV	Modified	✠	Nothing	⁘	
V	,,	✠	,,	,,	
VI (a)	,,	†	,,	2 crescents in upper quarters	Triple outer border of dots. Nimbus cross w. serifs
(b)	,,	,,	•		

TABLE 21 (C)

TETARTERA OF BASIL II, INDEPENDENT TYPES

Without Suspended Crown

Type	Costume		Cross		Ornament on Nimbus Cross	Comment
	Basil	Constantine	Type	On Shaft		
A	Elaborate	Elaborate	(Labarum)	Cross	•	
B	Traditional loros	Chlamys	✝	Crescent	• above, bars at sides	
C	,,	,,	✝	Nothing	:	
D	Chlamys	Elaborate	✠	•	:	Double rim to nimbus
E	Modified loros	Chlamys	✝	Nothing	:	
F (1)	,,	Elaborate	,,	,,	:	Nimbus cross with serifs
(2)	,,	,,	,,	X	:	

with triangles, according to the form of punch employed, and there is a tendency for the topmost one to become larger and swell into a globule.

Coins of this class are quite common, and its issue must have extended over a number of years, but its chronology can be discussed only in relation to that of Classes III and IV. The transition from Class II (plain patriarchal cross) to Class III (patriarchal cross crosslet) is one without any iconographical significance in itself, but that from Class III to Class IV, with the introduction of a suspended crown above Basil's head, is a different matter. Such a suspended crown, which had not occurred in Byzantine coinage since the fifth century, was in essence a symbol of power and victory,[10] and there can be little doubt that its introduction was intended to celebrate some great occasion in the reign. The most obvious dates are 989, the battle of Abydos, in which Basil triumphed over his domestic enemies and which, if Psellus tells us truly, played so important a role in the formation of his character, and either 1014, the year of his great victory over the Bulgarians at Cimbalongus with its appalling aftermath, or the final conquest and annexation of Bulgaria in 1018. But the first of these dates is too early—Classes II and III of the gold could scarcely be fitted into the twelve years 977–89—and 1018, or even 1014, though supported by the accepted interpretation of the Marciana miniature of Basil already alluded to, would be too late, for Classes IV–VI could not be fitted into the years between these dates and Basil's death in 1025. A third possibility is 1001, when Basil returned in triumph to Constantinople after two years of brilliant successes in Asia Minor. He found waiting for him in the capital no less a person than the Patriarch Orestes of Jerusalem, sent by the Fatimid caliph with full powers to conclude a treaty which took the form of a ten years' truce that restored peace to Asia Minor and Syria and was no doubt accompanied by the customary festivities and exchange of prisoners on an immense scale.[11] If 1001 be taken as the date when Class III was replaced by Class IV, one would expect Classes II and III to divide almost equally the twenty-four years between 977 and that date, since they are about equally common and the same number of ornaments is recorded for each. I would therefore assign Class II to 977–89, and assume that the ornaments were changed at yearly intervals and correspond to dates.

Class III (No. 3). 989–1001 (?). Obv. Same bust of Christ. Rev. Similar type, but Basil wears a modified loros and the emperors hold a patriarchal cross crosslet with their left hands.

It is difficult to see any good reason for the change of type, unless it was that of allowing many of the earlier marks to be reused. The change in the way in which the patriarchal cross is held seems to be without significance. The patriarchal cross crosslet is in reality

[10] Cf. the allusions in the poem that accompanies the miniature in Basil's Psalter (above, p. 601 note 6), translated by I. Ševčenko, "The Illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 272. Since the figures prostrate beneath the emperor's feet are assumed to be Bulgarians, the Psalter is usually dated *c.*1019 (*loc. cit.*, note 91).

[11] Schlumberger, *Basile II*, 199–208, though since our main source, the chronicle of Yahya of Antioch, is inconveniently reticent, Schlumberger has had to supply the details of the ceremonies from our knowledge of what occurred on other occasions. See B. P. Rozen, *Imperator Vasilii Bolgaroboitsa* (St. Petersburg, 1883), 42–3, for a translation (into Russian) of the relevant passages of the chronicle, with discussion in note 282 on pp. 336–8.

a patriarchal cross with three pellets decorating the end of each arm, but since the general effect is that of a cross crosslet, it is convenient to use the Western heraldic term for the resulting symbol. As with Class II, the ornaments sometimes take the form of objects on the shaft of the cross as well as in the nimbus of Christ. It has already been suggested that the class was struck over the years 989–1001, the year 989 coinciding with the issue of the large silver coins celebrating Basil's victory at Abydos.

Class IV (No. 4). 1001–1005 (?). Same type as last, but the crowns of both emperors have pendilia with bifid ends, a crown is suspended over Basil's head, and Constantine's chlamys has a decorated tablion. The ornament in the nimbus cross is always ⁝⁝.

Coins of this class are of uniformly large module (*c.* 25 mm.), and the great novelty in their design is the suspended crown, though the addition of pendilia to the crowns actually worn by the emperors is worthy of note, as they occur again on Classes V and VI. The tablion on Constantine's chlamys is usually decorated with three dots (⁝), but sometimes with two (:) or five (∴). The issue saw the abandonment of "dating" by frequent changes of ornament, but the use of signs before or after the inscriptions—see details in the catalogue—may have served the same function. The class is substantially rarer than Classes II, III, or VI, and presumably had a short life. I would attribute it conjecturally to the four years after 1001, those of the first phase of the Bulgarian campaign and the reconquest of the eastern Balkans, which ended with Basil's return to the capital in 1005.

Class V (No. 5). 1005 (?). Obv. Same bust of Christ, with ⁝⁝ in nimbus cross. Rev. Same type (crowns with pendilia, suspended crown above Basil, tablion on Constantine's chlamys), but patriarchal cross having large globule at the end of each arm.

This was probably an experimental type which failed to give satisfaction and was discarded in favor of that of Class VI. The features which link it to Class IV are apparent from the description above, but the cross is substantially different in design and, since the three specimens known to me[12] are struck with different reverse dies, this cannot be written off as a workman's error. Their close relationship, however, is shown by the fact that the three coins share a common obverse die.

Class VI (No. 6). 1005(?)–1025. Obv. Same bust of Christ, but the arms of the nimbus cross have seriffed ends where they join the rim of the nimbus—the arms are too narrow to contain ornaments—and there are crescents in the upper quarters. Rev. Same type, but the faces are larger and broader and the emperors hold a simple cross. The diameter of the coins is *c.* 25–27 mm., and on each side there is a triple border of dots instead of a single one.

Histamena of this class are extremely common, and their issue forms a landmark in the history of Byzantine gold coinage. The broad thin fabric became that of the histamena of the next two centuries, and the triple border, as is noted in the Introduction,[13] gave

[12] These are: (1) the one described below, No. 5; (2) Montagu Sale, lot 1234; and (3) one in a private collection in Greece. By an odd chance, the tablion ornaments on each are different, ⁝ on (1), : on (2), and ∴ on (3).

[13] Above, p. 6.

rise to the name of *scyphati* by which they are known in South Italian documents, a term misinterpreted by modern numismatists and supposed to refer to the concave shape of later eleventh-century coins. The two crescents in the upper quarters of the nimbus were popularly supposed to be the sun and the moon, which in early art often accompany representations of the Crucifixion, thus giving rise to the name *helioselenata* by which they were sometimes called.[14] This issue saw the abandonment of any system of "dating"; the only variety, and that quite rare, is one having a pellet on the staff of the cross. Such a pellet on the shaft of a cross or labarum recurs on many later eleventh-century coins, but whether it marks the products of a second officina or coins destined for a special purpose, or whether it had some other function, is unknown.

TETARTERON. The tetartera form two groups. One consists of coins struck with normal histamenon dies but lighter than histamena in weight. They occur in a number of varieties of Classes I–IV, and so were presumably being produced down to *c.* 1005. Three specimens are listed below, Nos. 7–9, and no doubt many others exist. Some of them may be histamena cut down in circulation, but others were probably issued as tetartera by the mint. There seem to be no tetartera of Class VI, presumably because by that time an independent tetarteron type was already in existence.

The main such type is that catalogued below as F.2, which is fairly common and of which complete hoards have been found.[15] The others form a miscellany of varying designs, very difficult to date and mostly known in only one or two specimens. One would expect them to be grouped around the date at which Type F.2 came into existence, but a few must be substantially earlier. It would seem that the mint made several attempts during the reign to strike independent types, but only in its second half did it meet with success. Further rare types—one can hardly call them classes—may well come to light in the future, and the weight pattern, as we have seen in the Introduction,[16] is not easy to understand.

Type A. (No. 10). 977. Obv. Bust of Christ between IC and XC. Rev. Two busts holding between them a labarum with cross on shaft.

This is the most remarkable of the types, being the only coin of the reign in which the emperors hold a labarum instead of a cross. The costumes of both emperors are unusual, as the descriptions in the text make clear. An early date is indicated by the triangular faces of the emperors, by the size of the head of Christ in relation to the nimbus, and by the IC XC in the obverse field, a carry-over from the same feature on rare tetartera of John Zimisces (above, pp. 595–6, Nos. 6b, 6c). As with the histamena of Class I, one is bound to wonder whether the coin should not be attributed to 963, but the fact of its being a tetarteron proves the contrary. Presumably the mint authorities, once the design of Class II of the histamena had been approved, hoped to be allowed to make a formal distinction between these and the other denomination of nomisma.

Type B. (No. 11). *c.*980 (?). Obv. Bust of Christ with ornamented nimbus. Rev. Two busts holding a patriarchal cross with a crescent on the shaft.

[14] See Introduction, pp. 57–58.
[15] Above, p. 33.
[16] Above, pp. 33–5.

This is of the same general type as Class II of the histamenon, but is distinguished by the crescent on the shaft of the cross. Such a device was to be occasionally used in the eleventh century to distinguish issues of lower value as they came into existence, though it normally implies a reduction in fineness, not one in weight. The small size of the coin would point to a fairly early date, and *c.*980 cannot be far wrong.

Type C. (No. 12). 977–989 (?). Obv. Bust of Christ. Rev. Two busts holding a patriarchal cross with a large globule at the top.

This is a further variety of Class II of the histamenon, with one element in the patriarchal cross altered so as to indicate that the coin differed from the normal nomisma. In one notable respect it started a pattern, for from this time onward all tetartera of independent design have two pellets in the nimbus cross. The coin must have been struck in the 980's, but it is impossible to give an exact date.

Type D. (No. 13). 989–1001 (?). Obv. Bust of Christ. Rev. Two busts holding patriarchal cross crosslet having a pellet on the shaft, Constantine once again wearing elaborately decorated robes instead of the normal chlamys.

This coin is cited and illustrated from the Ratto catalogue and one can only surmise that it was a tetarteron, for its weight is not recorded and I do not know its present whereabouts. The patriarchal cross crosslet—the real nature of this, with three pellets decorating the ends of the cross-arms, is more evident than usual—dates it to the period 989–1001 (?).

Type E. (No. 14). *c.*1000–1005. Obv. Bust of Christ. Rev. Two busts holding patriarchal cross.

This is superficially a reversion to an earlier type, but its late affiliations are shown by the design of the imperial busts and by the presence of pendilia, a feature otherwise occurring only on Classes IV–VI of the histamena and Type F of the tetartera. Those on Type E differ from the others, however, in having trifid instead of bifid ends. The coin can be approximately dated to *c.*1000–1005.

Type F. (No. 15). *c.*1005–1025. Obv. Bust of Christ, the arms of the cross being seriffed. Rev. Two busts holding a plain patriarchal cross, the crowns furnished with bified pendilia, and Constantine wearing an elaborate robe with a characteristic V-shaped opening in front.

There are two varieties of this type, one—very rare—with nothing on the shaft of the cross, the other fairly common with an X on the shaft. Like the crescent of Type B, such a mark was sometimes to be used in the future to indicate nomismata of inferior quality. It is with this issue that the tetarteron can be said to gain a place in the coinage system of the Empire, since it was now a separate denomination distinguished in type as well as in weight from the histamenon and issued on a large scale. Coins of Type F.2, however, are heavier than most of the earlier and later tetartera, and at 4.22 g. they would have been worth twenty-three carats in relation to the histamena of this period.[17]

MILIARESION. There are four classes of miliaresia, but two of them are very rare and form, though for quite different reasons, exceptional issues. The classes, with summary descriptions and catalogue references, are as follows:

[17] Cf. Introduction, pp. 31–3.

Class I (No. 16). 977 (opening weeks). Obv. Inscription of customary type. Rev. Patriarchal cross on steps.

This in the main represents a reversion to a traditional type, without a medallion of the emperor at the intersection of the arms of the cross, and was something innocuous that the mint was able to produce at short notice. At the date of my article of 1967 I knew of only a single specimen, that published below (No. 16), but another, from different dies, has since been kindly brought to my attention by a Greek collector.

Class II (No. 17). 977–89. Obv. Elaborate cross crosslet between two busts.[18] Rev. Inscription in field.

This represents the mint's solution to the problem of how to depict two co-emperors on the coin, and forms the commonest type of the reign.[19] There are two separate groups, distinguished by the spelling of the epithet πιστοί applied to the emperors, Class II A having it as ΠISTOI and Class II B as ΠISTV. There are small variations in the letter forms (T, τ), and the first class usually reads CCωnSτ in the inscription, the second one SCωnSτ. The inscription has a variety of ornaments above and below, three being common to both series and four peculiar to Class II A, two to Class II B. Specimens of Class II A, as they are known to us today, are found to have been nearly always clipped, this having been done very drastically but at the same time quite neatly, so that the coins remain roughly circular in form and were evidently still expected to remain in use as money. Coins of Class II B, on the other hand, are usually unclipped.

How this phenomenon can best be interpreted is not clear.[20] The two spellings could be an indication that two different mints were at work, but the two varieties seem to be equally common and Hendy has pointed out the unlikelihood of a supposed second mint having an output at all comparable with that of Constantinople. They may be the products of separate officinae at a single mint, that of Constantinople, as Hendy has argued, his view being that the clipping was done before the coins were put into circulation. There would thus have been in existence a light miliaresion comparable to the light nomisma or tetarteron. Or they may be consecutive issues from the same mint, as I argued in 1967, the clipping having taken place in circulation and being due to some kind of economic pressure which had eased off by the time that Class B was issued.

There is not at present enough evidence to decide the matter one way or the other. In favor of Hendy's view is the neatness and regularity of the clipping, which one would not expect if it had been done after the coins had left the mint, and the fact of a number of ornaments being common to both series, as if these were being issued simultaneously. There is also the unlikelihood of the easing of a supposed economic pressure coinciding with a change in orthography, which would be something quite internal to the mint. On the other hand, the coincidence is not exact, for some coins of Class II A escaped clipping, and clipped ones of Class II B do exist; this should not have been the case if one officina

[18] Since the busts are in the field, and not part of the cross, I have treated this as the obverse. This may not be technically correct, but at this period the difference was not a matter of importance.

[19] An essential article is I. V. Sokolova's account of the 117 miliaresia in the Vella hoard, "Vizantiiskie moneti kladi Vella," *Trudi Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, 4 (Leningrad, 1961), 10–17.

[20] Besides Miss Sokolova's account of the Vella hoard and my article, cf. also M. F. Hendy, "Light-weight Solidi, Tetartera, and the Book of the Prefect," *BZ*, 64 (1972), 57–80.

were systematically clipping its coins and the other not. Nor would one expect such a differentiation into separate officinae, or indeed the issue of light-weight miliaresia, to be limited to a single class of coin, and there seems to be no trace of either phenomenon in Class IV. Further, if the ornaments mark yearly issues, as I believe was the case for the folles, the seven known "ornaments" of Class II A could be added to the five of Class II B to bridge the twelve years between 977 and 989.[21] Unfortunately the only well-described hoard of the period, that of Vella, is from Estonia, and "foreign" hoards throw a very uncertain light on domestic circulation. In any event, the issue of Class II was apparently ended by the introduction of Class III in 989, which changed the module of the miliaresia of the reign.

Class III (No. 19). 989. Obv. Bust of the Virgin, with inscription recognizing her aid to "the emperors." Rev. Inscription in field.

These beautiful and remarkable coins have customarily been ascribed to John Zimisces, but this was no more than a conjecture of F. de Saulcy unwisely followed by subsequent scholars. Neither their fabric nor their module fits his reign, and the reference to βασιλεῖς in the plural shows that they are better given to Basil II and Constantine VIII. Further, since their inscription is an expression of confidence in the efficacy of the Virgin's aid, and the icon represented on the coin was credited with playing a miraculous role at the battle of Abydos, in which Bardas Phocas died and Basil's hold on the throne was assured, the coins can be dated with confidence to 989.[22] They are very rare, and evidently formed a very brief commemorative issue.

Class IV (No. 20). 989–1025. As Class II B (with ΠISTV), but of larger module, and instead of a variety of ornaments above and below the inscription, where there is always —⊙—, one finds varying ornaments on the base of the cross which were evidently intended to fulfill the same purpose.

These coins, unlike those of Class II, are somewhat rare. Five different ornaments are known, and more may yet be discovered. The class represents the final issue of Basil's reign, but it is impossible to say how late it in fact continued to be struck. The rarity of Byzantine silver in the eleventh century shows that the Empire was strongly affected by the so-called "silver famine" of the Muslim world,[23] and it seems to me doubtful that the issue continued much beyond 995 or 1000. It was this drying up of Byzantine minting that led to the extensive imitation of miliaresia in southern Russia, the products being

[21] Since all known "ornaments" are represented in the Vella hoard, one may assume that the Byzantine coins in it were put together at the end of the period of issue of Class II and not later, since neither Class III nor IV is represented. Although one cannot press the point, since Byzantine relations with Russia were close and there was no ban on the export of silver coin, it is perhaps no coincidence that it was in the summer of 989 that Cherson was occupied by Vladimir of Kiev. Much plunder must in consequence have been disseminated through the country.

[22] See my article, "A Misattributed Miliaresion of Basil II," *Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky*, I (= *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'études byzantines*, 8 [Belgrade, 1963]), 111–16.

[23] R. P. Blake, "The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East down to the Mongol Epoch," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2 (1937), 295–310. He attributes it to the occupation of the Zarafshān mines in Central Asia by the Turks in *c.*975 and by Mahmud of Ghazna's southern conquests in the early eleventh century. He also wrongly supposes that it left the Byzantine Empire unaffected. See further above, p. 42.

crude pieces of silver or—more commonly—copper on which one can often detect little more than the two imperial busts on either side of the cross and a five-line inscription in which the letters are reduced to squares or circles.[24] Their prototypes, however, were unmistakably the miliaresia of Class II, which likewise formed the type of Byzantine silver coin best known in the Baltic region and Scandinavia.

[24] See K. V. Golenko, "Podrazheniya vizantiiskim monetam X–XI vv., naidennie na Tamanskom poluostrove," *VV*², 7 (1953), 269–75, and "Die Tamaner Gruppe der Nachahmungen byzantinischer Miliarensia," in *Dona Numismatica Walter Hävernick zum 23. Januar 1965 dargebracht*, ed. P. Berghaus and G. Hatz (Hamburg, 1965), 87–94, where further literature is cited. There are two such coins in the Whittemore Collection, of base silver and of copper, weighing 0.94 g. and 1.36 g. respectively.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			NOMISMA		
			HISTAMENON		
			Class I		
			Emperors hold patriarchal cross; Basil wears modified loros		
*(1)	Ⅳ	23	+IhSXISREXRE⊂NA ПTIПM Bust of Christ Pantocrator (Type VIIIb) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having one pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of himation, l. clasps book to breast (Montagu 1235)	+bASIL'C'COПSTAП TI'b'R' Two busts facing, Basil to l., bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross, Constantine to r., beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding between them by r. hands a patriarchal cross	977
			Class II		
			Emperors hold patriarchal cross; Basil wears normal loros		
			Same inscr. Similar type, with variations in nimbus	+bASILCCOПSTAПT IbR Similar type, but Basil wears normal loros	977–989(?)

1–6 Further varieties in Classes I–VI will no doubt come to light, and any enumeration can be no more than temporary. I have therefore thought it best to retain the numbering of my article of 1967, and insert subsequent discoveries by doubling the letters (IIcc, etc.), since a new and necessarily temporary system of references would only create confusion.

(1) It is not certain that this class includes histamena; see above, p. 603. The coin illustrated on Pl. XLIII (= Montagu 1235) shows the style.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(a) Pellet in each arm of cross		977–989(?)
*2a	Æ	4.43	23	↙	J for S, ends IPM	J for S, ends R′	
					(b) Two pellets in each arm of cross		
*2b	Æ	4.38	23	↓	Begins +IhSΛI·REX		
					(c) Pellet in upper arm of cross		
*2c	Æ	4.35	23	↓			
					(cc) Two pellets in upper arm of cross, nothing in lateral arms		
*(2cc)	Æ		21		(In trade, 1968)		
					(d) Bar in each arm of cross		
*(2d)	Æ		22		(Glendining 7. iii. 57, lot 644)		
					(e) Three pellets on circumference of nimbus		
*2e	Æ	4.39	22	↓	Letters small and badly formed		

2a Whittemore
W. —, R. 1937

2b Whittemore
W. —, R. —
For a tetarteron of this class, see below, No. 8b.

2c Shaw 1947
W. —, R. —
The two lateral arms of the cross were hollowed out on the die, perhaps to erase pellets, which gives a raised effect to them on the coin.

(2d) Communicated by Mr. Bendall

2e N. Kapamadji 6. iii. 68
W. 3, R. —
This variety is commoner than most of the others.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(f) Three pellets on circumference of nimbus, pellet on shaft of patriarchal cross		977–989(?)
*2f	Æ	4.34	21	↙	+IhSIIISREIIREΓNΛN TNM		
					(g) Wedge in each arm of cross, ▲ on shaft of patriarchal cross		
*2g.1	Æ	4.41	22	↙	+IhƆNIƆREИR[ ]M Same die as 8g	Same die as 8g	
*2g.2	Æ	4.39	23	↘	+IhSNISRENREGNΛ NTNIM	A for Λ	
2g.3	Æ	4.38	22	↙			
					(h) Arms of cross ≡, ♠ on shaft of patriarchal cross		
*2h	Æ	4.38	21	↙	Letter forms indistinct; ends TIYM		
					(i) Arms of cross ≡, ♠ on shaft of patriarchal cross		
*2i	Æ	4.31	22	↓	Ends GNΛNTIYM		

2f Whittemore
W. —, R. —

2g.1–3 Whittemore
W. 1 (tetarteron), R. —
A very common class. For a tetarteron belonging to it, see below, No. 8g.

2h Whittemore
W. —, R. —

2i Whittemore
W. —, R. —
The design on the cross has been altered on the die from that of Class IIh, the outer pellets being incorporated in the circumference of the circle. Since there also exists a mule between an obverse of Classes IIh and IIi (with :) and a reverse of Class II j (above, p. 603 note 8), it would seem that "Class IIi" is not really a distinct group, but only a transitional coin produced with the help of a recut die. Since this die retains the double lines of the cross-arms of Class IIh, however, it has to be distinguished from those of Class IIj.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(j) ⊙ in each arm of cross, ⊸ on shaft of patriarchal cross		977–989(?)
*2j.1	Ñ	4.45	23	↓	Ends TIYM	J for S	
*2j.2	Ñ	4.36	25	↓	Ends TIYM	J for S	
*2j.3	Ñ	4.36	22	↓	Ends TIYM	Ends TI'bR Bar on shaft erased	
					(k) Nothing in arms of cross, ⊸ on shaft of patriarchal cross		
*(2k)	Ñ	4.40	22	↓	(Ratto 26. i. 55, lot 1314)		
					Class III		
					Emperors hold patriarchal cross crosslet		
					+IhSXISREXREϹNAN TIhM Same type, with variations in nimbus	+bASILCCONSTANT IbR Similar type, but Basil wears modified loros and the emperors hold a patriarchal cross crosslet with their l. hands	989(?)–1001
					(a) ·· in each arm of cross		
*(3a)	Ñ	4.41	22		(W. 7)		

2j.1 Peirce 1948
W. 2 (tetarteron), R. 1939
2j.2 Whittemore
2j.3 Friend 1957
(2k) Another specimen in a private collection in Athens
3 I have interpolated two varieties, (bb) and (ff), instead of adding them at the end after (j), so as to keep together all those with no ornament on the shaft of the patriarchal cross crosslet.
(3a) The coin illustrated is from Hirsch Sale 31, 28. v. 62, lot 710, since it is in better condition than the British Museum specimen.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(b) ·|· in each arm of cross		989(?)–1001(?)
*3b.1	Æ 4.42	24 ↓		A for Λ, ends bRM	
*3b.2	Æ 4.39	24 ↓		A for Λ, ends bRM	
3b.3	Æ 4.39	24 ↘			
*3b.4	Æ 4.35 pierced	25 ↘	·⁝· in upper arm of cross, bungled design in l. one	A for Λ, ends bRM	
			(bb) Same, but pellet in each quarter of cross		
*(3bb)	Æ	21	(Rashleigh Sale I, lot 261)		
			(c) ·⁝· in each arm of cross		
*(3c)	Æ	22	(Bourgey sale 1. xii. 66, lot 62)		
			(d) ≡ in each arm of cross, nimbus with double circle		
*3d.1	Æ 4.39	24 ↓	G for ϛ		
*3d.2	Æ 4.35	22 ↓	G for ϛ		
			(e) ≡ in each arm of cross, nimbus with double circle		
*3e	Æ 4.43	24 ↓			

3b.1 Peirce 1948 from Spink iii. 29
W. 9, R. —

3b.2–3 Whittemore

3b.4 Swiss Collection 1956
The ornaments in the cross form a kind of compromise between (b) and (c), as if the die-sinker had inadvertently started with one and ended with the other. The ornaments ·⁝· in the upper arm and ·|· in the r. arm are clear, while the left-hand one seems to have started as ·⁝· and then had the central pellets run together to form a vertical line. There is also the accidental insertion of a pellet, not produced by double striking, in the left-hand arm.

3d.1 Peirce 1948 from Baldwin iii. 24
W. —, R. —

3d.2 Schindler

3e Peirce 1948 from Platt 1926

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(f) ⁝⁝ in each arm of cross		989(?)–1001(?)
*3f.1	Æ 4.39	25 ↓	Ends IYM		
3f.2	Æ 4.04 worn and plugged	24 ↓			
			(ff) ∴ in each arm of cross		
(3ff)	Æ	23	(Vinchon sale 26. x. 64, lot 77)		
			(g) • • in each arm of cross, ⌣ on shaft of patriarchal cross		
*3g.1	Æ 4.34	23 ↓			
*3g.2	Æ 4.32	24 ↓	XRS for XIS	⌣ very faint. Ends bR′	
			(h) Nothing in arms of cross, nimbus with double rim, globule on shaft of cross		
*3h	Æ 4.36 pierced	23 ↓	N for X, ends TIYM		
			(i) Same, but arms with double lines		
*3i	Æ 4.29 pierced	23 ↓	Letter forms on l. obscured by double striking	Ends AN.TIbR	

3f.1 Whittemore
W. —, R. —

3f.2 Peirce 1948 from Platt i. 24
This might be a tetarteron, but since it is worn and plugged one cannot be sure. The flan is very thin.

3g.1–2 Whittemore
W. —, R. —

3h Whittemore
W. —, R. 1942

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(j) ·· in arms of cross, nimbus with double rim, globule on shaft of cross		989(?)–1001(?)
*(3j)	Æ 4.39	23	(W. 8)		
			Class IV		
			Emperors hold patriarchal cross crosslet, suspended crown over Basil's head		
			Same inscr. and type, ⁘ in each arm of cross	Same inscr. and type, but the crowns of both emperors have pendilia with bifid ends and there is a suspended crown over Basil's head. Constantine's chlamys has tablion decorated with ⁝	1001(?)–1005(?)
			(a) Nothing before obv. or rev. inscr.		
*4a.1	Æ 4.36 plugged	26 ↙	Ends IꟻM	: instead of ⁝ on tablion	
*4a.2	Æ 4.30	25 ↙	G for ϛ	∴ instead of ⁝ on tablion	
			(b) ⁘ before and after rev. inscr.		
*4b.1	Æ 4.43	24 ↓	Γ for ϛ	Same die as 4b.2	
4b.2	Æ 4.39	26 ↓	Γ for ϛ	Same die as 4b.1	

4a.1 Whittemore
W. —, R. 1941

4a.2 Peirce 1948 from Kellad iii. 30
The letters of the obverse inscription are made entirely by using small triangular punches. One edge of the flan is slightly cupped.

4b.1–3 Whittemore
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*4b.3	Æ 4.35	24 ↓	Shapeless letters made by triangular punches		1001(?)–1005(?)
			(c) Pellet before and after obv. inscr.		
*4c	Æ 4.37	25 ↓	Shapeless letters made by triangular punches		
			(d) Pellet before and after obv. inscr., cross after rev. inscr.		
*4d	Æ 4.37	24 ↓			
			Class V		
			Emperors hold patriarchal cross with terminal pellets; suspended crown over Basil's head		
			Same inscr. and type, ⁝ in each arm of cross	Same inscr. and type, but different form of cross	1005(?)
*5	Æ 4.41	25 ↓			

4c Whittemore
W. 10, R. —

4d Whittemore
W. —, R. —

5 Whittemore
W. —, R. —

6 The letters on this class are so small, especially on the obverse, that their precise form can often not be determined. There is a contemporary forgery in silver (?), with traces of gilding, amongst the Peirce coins (3.76 g., but pierced), and one in lead, much decayed, in the Whittemore Collection.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class VI		
			Emperors hold simple cross, crescent in each upper quarter of nimbus		
			Same inscr. Same type, but arms of cross have seriffed ends, crescent in each upper quarter of nimbus. Triple border of dots	Same inscr. Same type, with suspended cross, but emperors hold plain cross. Triple border of dots	1005–1025
			(a) Nothing on shaft of cross		
*6a.1	Æ 4.43 pierced	26 ↙			
6a.2	Æ 4.43	27 ↙			
6a.3	Æ 4.42	25 ↓			
6a.4	Æ 4.41 pierced	26 ↓			
6a.5	Æ 4.41	26 ↙			
6a.6	Æ 4.41	24 ↓			
*6a.7	Æ 4.40	25 ↓			
*6a.8	Æ 4.39	27 ↙			
6a.9	Æ 4.39 pierced	27 ↙			
6a.10	Æ 4.39	27 ↙			
6a.11	Æ 4.23 pierced	27 ↙			
			(b) Globule on shaft of cross		
*6b.1	Æ 4.40 plugged	24 ↙			

6a.1 Whittemore
W. 12–13, R. 1944–5
6a.2 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vi. 28
6a.3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
6a.4–11 Whittemore
6b.1 Whittemore
W. —, R. —
This variety is extremely rare, in contrast to 6a.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*6b.2	N	4.39	24	↓			1005(?)–1025
					TETARTERON		
					Class I of Histamenon Nomisma		
					Inscr. and type as No. 1 above (emperors holding patriarchal cross, Basil wearing modified loros)		977
(7)	N	4.06	19		(W. 4)		
					Class II of Histamenon Nomisma		
					Inscr. and type as No. 2 above (emperors holding patriarchal cross, Basil wearing normal loros)		977(?)–989(?)
					(b) Two pellets in each arm of cross		
*8b	N	3.97	23	↓	+IhCXIRЄXRЄΓNΛN TIhM	+bΛSIL'CCONSTΛNT b'R' Double struck	
					(g) Wedge in each arm of cross, ▲ on shaft of patriarchal cross		
*8g	N	3.64 clipped	20	↙	Begins +IhDNIS Same die as 2g.1	Same die as 2g.1	

6b.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus

8–15 The class numbering of the histamena has been retained for the tetartera which correspond to the types of these. Classes A–E are experimental types rather than classes; the only tetartera struck in quantity are those of Class F (II). The order in the catalogue is approximately chronological, but no firm dates can be suggested.

8b Whittemore
W. —, R. —

8g Whittemore
W. 1, R. —
Although this has been clipped, it can never have been the weight of a full nomisma.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(j) ⊙ in each arm of cross, ⊸ on shaft of patriarchal cross		977(?)–989(?)
(8j)	Æ 4.06	22	(W. 2)		
			Class IV of Histamenon Nomisma		
			Inscr. and type as No. 4 above (emperors hold patriarchal cross crosslet, suspended crown above Basil's head)		
			(e) Cross after rev. inscr.		
*9e	Æ 4.03	24 ↓			
			Type A		
			Emperors hold labarum		
			+IhSXISRЄXRЄϹNΛN TIhM Bust of Christ Pantocrator (Type VIIIb) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having one pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of himation, l. clasps book to breast. IC and XC	+bΛSIL·C·CONSTΛN TIb'R Two busts facing, Basil to l., bearded, Constantine to r., beardless, each wearing robes of elaborate pattern and crown with cross. They hold by their r. hands a labarum with cross on shaft	977
*10	Æ 4.06	21 ↓			

9e Whittemore
W. —, R. —
The cross after the rev. inscription is very faint, but is certainly there. I know of no corresponding histamenon, though presumably one exists.

10–15 For Types A–F, which are proper to the tetartera, I have not thought it necessary to adhere to the numbering of my article of 1967.

10 Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel, Sale XXXV, 16. vi. 67, lot 238
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Type B		
			Emperors hold patriarchal cross with crescent on shaft		
			Same inscription Same type, but nimbus cross has a bar in each lateral arm, a pellet in the upper one	+bASILCCONSTAN TIbR∴ Two busts facing, Basil to l., bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross, Constantine to r., beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross, holding by their r. hands a patriarchal cross with crescent on shaft	*c.*980
*11	*Æ* 4.13	19 ↓	M for M		
			Type C		
			Emperors hold patriarchal cross surmounted by globule		
			Same inscription Same type, but nimbus cross has 2 pellets in each arm	Same inscription Same type, but patriarchal cross (without crescent) is surmounted by large globule	977–989(?)

Basil's robe resembles a modified loros, with a pattern of squares, but these are larger than usual and the two upper ones have in them pear-shaped objects instead of pellets. Constantine's robe is shown as an inverted triangle, each side bordered by a row of pellets, with a trefoil inside. It is presumably intended as the same as that on Type F below. For a discussion of the type and date see above, p. 608.

11 J. Malter 7. vii. 67
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*(12)	Æ 3.91	21	(Private coll. in Athens)		977–989(?)
			Type D		
			Emperors hold patriarchal cross crosslet		
			Same inscription Same type, but nimbus with double rim	Same inscription Similar type, but Basil wears chlamys and Constantine an ornamented robe. Basil holds with l. hand and Constantine with r. a patriarchal cross crosslet having a large globule on shaft	989(?)–1001(?)
*(13)	Æ	20	(R. 1943)		
			Type E		
			Emperors hold patriarchal cross, Constantine wears chlamys		
			Same inscription Same type, but nimbus with single rim	Same inscription Similar type, but Basil wears loros and Constantine chlamys, their crowns have pendilia with trefoil ends, and the patriarchal cross is normal	*c.*1001–*c.*1005

(12) Another specimen in Hess sale 25. iii. 29, lot 1044

(13) The nimbus with double rim is like that of Class IIIh and IIIi of the histamenon, but it is not there associated with two pellets in the cross. The patriarchal cross crosslet of the reverse type is basically that of Class III, though the arrangement of the pellets at the end of the arms makes these resemble trefoils rather than crosslets. Basil wears a chlamys fastened by a fibula in front instead of at the right shoulder. Constantine's robe has a narrow square-and-pellet pattern down the center and one of wavy lines and pellets down each side.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*14	N 4.24	20 ↓			*c*.1000–*c*.1005
			Type F		
			Emperors hold patriarchal cross, Constantine wears ornamented robe		
			Same inscription Same type, but cross has serifs where it joins the edge of the nimbus	Same inscription Similar type, but Constantine has ornamented robe; crowns with trefoil pendilia	*c*.1005–1025
			(i) Nothing on shaft of cross		
(15a)	N 4.08	20 ↓	(Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel, Sale XXV, 17. xi. 62, lot 716)		
			(ii) X on shaft of cross		
15b.1	N 4.24 with ring	21 ↙		Ends b'R	
*15b.2	N 4.22	19 ↙	ɔ for S		
*15b.3	N 4.20	21 ↓			
*15b.4	N 4.18	21 ↓	ɔ for S		

14 Peirce 1948 from Royall Tyler viii. 27
W. —, R. —

15 The V-shaped pattern at the neck of Constantine's robe on this class is quite characteristic. Presumably it is the same as that shown on Type A, but its smaller size has led to the replacement of the trefoil ornament within the V by a pellet. A similar robe is worn by Nicephorus III in a famous miniature at Paris (D. Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium* [New York, 1959], Pl. 163).

15b.1–2 Whittemore
W. 5–6, R. 1940

15b.3 Schindler 1960

15b.4 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			MILIARESION *Class I* Patriarchal cross crosslet		
			– ·:· – +bASIL' CCONSTAN' ΠORFVROϹ' ΠISTVbAS' RωMAIω' – ·:· – Three borders of dots, the center one ornamented with eight globules	+IhSϹSXRI STϹSΠICΛ Patriarchal cross crosslet on five steps. Three borders of dots, the middle one ornamented with eight globules	977
*16	Æ 2.17 pierced and broken	25 ↘		+ and XRI illegible	

16–20 The numbering of these classes follows that of my article alluded to above, p. 599 note 3.

16 Swiss Collection
W. —, R. —
There is a second specimen of this rare coin, in better condition than ours and weighing 2.37 g., in a private collection in Athens.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II A Patriarchal cross crosslet between two busts; ΠISTOI in inscr.		
			ЄΠTOVTΩΠIC⅄T' b⅄SILЄICCΩΠST' Cross crosslet, with X at intersection, on base, globus, and four steps. In field l., facing bust of Basil, bearded, wearing loros and crown with cross and pendilia. In field r., facing bust of Constantine, beardless, wearing chlamys and crown with cross and pendilia. Triple linear border	+b⅄SIL` CCΩΠST⅄Π` ΠORFVROϛ' ΠISTOIb⅄S' RΩΜ⅄IΩ' with ornament above and beneath. Triple linear border	977–989
			(1) — ·:· — above and beneath inscr.		
*17a.1	Æ 2.98	23 ↗		Abbrev. marks to r. clipped away	
*17a.2	Æ 2.79 pierced	23 ↑			
*17a.3	Æ 2.62	21 ↙			

17 Coins of Class II A are almost always found clipped. This is true of all those catalogued here, so it has not been specifically noted against the weights. The only ones here which are not clipped are counterfeits of the period, struck in copper, weighing respectively 3.35 g. (Whittemore), 3.12 g. (Peirce), and 2.27 g. (Whittemore, broken). They are all of good style and fabric, and give the effect of having been struck with genuine dies. They are quite different in appearance from the South Russian imitations referred to above, p. 612. How they are to be explained I do not know.

17a.1 Schindler 1960
W. —, R. 1950 (reading —·⁝·— incorrectly in text)

17a.2–3 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*17a.4	Æ 2.33	23 ↓			977–989
*17a.5	Æ 2.16	23 ↑			
			(2) – ·⁝· – above and beneath inscr.		
*17b.1	Æ 3.01	24 ↑			
*17b.2	Æ 2.53	24 ↓			
*17b.3	Æ 2.35	23 ↘			
*17b.4	Æ 2.21 pierced	22 ↘			
*17b.5	Æ 2.17	22 ↑	ΠΙCΛ broken away		
			(3) – ·⁝· – above and beneath inscr.		
*17c	Æ 2.47 pierced	24 ↑			
			(4) – ✱ – above and beneath inscr.		
(17d)	Æ	21	(Kress Cat. 144, 22. vii. 68, lot 992)		
			(5) · ✱ · above and beneath inscr.		
(17e)	Æ 2.66	21	(Vella 57)		
			(6) · ⁝⁝ · above and beneath inscr.		
(17f)	Æ 2.28	21	(Vella 61)		
			(7) – + – above and beneath inscr.		
(17g)	Æ 2.55	21	(Vella 62)		

17a.4 Swiss Collection 1956
17a.5 Whittemore
This "rings" badly, but apparently as a result of a fault in the flan. It seems to be authentic.
17b.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 16–19, R. —
17b.2 Whittemore
17b.3 Peirce 1948 from Schulman
17b.4–5 Whittemore
17c Schindler 1960
W. —, R. —
(17e)–(17g) For the Vella Hoard, see above, p. 610, note 19.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II B		
			Patriarchal cross crosslet between two busts; ΠISTV in inscr.		
			Same inscr. and type	+bΛSIL` CCωnSτΛn` ΠORFVROϹ' ΠISTVbΛS' RωmΛIω with ornament above and beneath. Triple linear border	977–989
			(1) — ·:· — above and beneath inscr.		
*18a.1	Æ 2.99	27 ↑	No abbreviation marks	bΛS for bΛS	
*18a.2	Æ 2.11 clipped	21 ↑		SCωnST for CCωnSτ	
			(2) — ·:· — above and beneath inscr.		
*(18b)	Æ clipped	22	(R. 1949)		
			(3) — ·:· — above and beneath inscr.		
(18c)	Æ 3.02	26	(Vella 79)		
			(4) — · — above and beneath inscr.		
*18d.1	Æ 2.95	27 ↓	Reads ЄIS·CωnSτ		
*18d.2	Æ 2.80	27 ↑			

18 Coins of Class II B are generally unclipped.
18a.1 Grierson 1956 from Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel sale, 19. iii. 51
W. —, R. 1947
18a.2 Whittemore
18d.1 Schindler 1960
W. —, R. 1948
The use of triangular headed punches for the obverse lettering is very obvious on this coin and the next.
18d.2 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(5) ⊸ ⁘ ⊷ above and beneath inscr.		977–989
*18e	Æ 2.37 pierced	26 ↑	No abbreviation marks		
			Class III		
			Bust of the Virgin Nikopoios		
			ΘCЄB,Θ,ⲧOIS bΛSIL,S, Bust of the Virgin facing, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, holding medallion with head of the infant Jesus, wearing tunic, with cross behind. In field, to l., M̅P̅ to r., Θ̅V̅ Triple linear border.	+M̅ЄRΘ̅Y DЄDOⲯΛSM OЄIS·SЄЄL ΠIZWΠOY CΛΠOⲧ,X, — ⁘ — Triple linear border	989
*19.1	Æ 2.94	30 ↓			
*19.2	Æ 2.85	29 ↓			
*19.3	Æ 2.83	28 ↘			
*19.4	Æ 2.37 clipped and broken	27 ↓	Ends bΛSILˢ	Ends ⲧ,X·	

18e Whittemore
W. —, R. —

19 For the attribution of this coin to Basil II's reign, and not to that of John Zimisces, see above, p. 611. The obverse inscription is to be interpreted Θεοτόκε βοήθει τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, "O Virgin aid the emperors," and that of the reverse Μήτερ Θεού δεδοξασμένη ὁ εἰς σε ἐλπίξων οὐκ ἀποτυγχάνει, "Mother of God, full of glory, he who putteth his trust in thee will never fail in his undertakings."

19.1–2 Whittemore
W. John Zimisces 7, R. —

19.3 Grierson 1956 from E. L. Jonas Sale (Glendining 18. i. 49), lot 206

19.4 Peirce 1948 from Prince Philipp Sale (Hamburger 20. ii. 28), lot 660

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class IV		
			Same inscr. and type as Class II B (with ΠISTV), but base of cross ornamented	– ⊙ – +bΛSIL' CCωnSτΛn ΠORFVROϹ' ΠISτVbΛS RωmΛIω' – ⊙ – Triple linear border	989–1025
*20a	Æ 2.53	29 ↑	Base T		
*20b	Æ 2.47 pierced	30 ↑	Base ⁘		
*20c.1	Æ 2.63 pierced	29 ↙	Base Y		
*20c.2	Æ 2.28	30 ↑	Base Y		
*20d	Æ 2.54	30 ↙	Base ⁂ No abbreviation marks		
*20e	Æ 2.68	30 ↓	Base ⁂ No abbreviation marks	Γ for ϹΓ. Ends PΨS' ‖ RωmΨIω' (i.e., b and Λ upside down)	
			Cherson		
			B✠C (BACIΛIOV) Border of dots	✠ (ΔECΠOTOV) Border of dots	977–989

20a Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. 1929
W. —, R. 1946
20b Peirce 1948
W. —, R. —
20c.1 Peirce 1948
W. 14, R. —
20c.2 Whittemore
20d Whittemore
W. 15, R. —
20e Whittemore
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*21a	Æ 2.52	17 ↖			977–989
*21b.1	Æ 3.54	18 ↑	Monogram reversed		
*21b.2	Æ 2.70	18 ↑	Same		

21a Schindler 1960
W. 41–42, R. 1966, Oreshnikov 59
21b.1 Schindler 1960
W. 43, R. 1967, Oreshnikov 60
21b.2 Swiss Collection 1956 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30, lot 1967

THE ANONYMOUS FOLLES, 970–1092

The copper coinage of the Empire, between the accession of John I in 969 and the great monetary reform of Alexius I in 1092, is differentiated from that of earlier centuries in two important respects. One is that all the coins have on them an effigy of Christ, a feature hitherto reserved for the gold.[1] The other is that most of them were not struck in the name of any particular emperor. No folles exist in the names of John I, Basil II, Constantine VIII, Romanus III, Michael IV, Michael V, Zoe, Constantine IX, Theodora, Michael VI, or Isaac I, a sequence of eleven rulers covering the space of ninety years (969–1059). Although the minting of signed folles was revived by Constantine X and continued under his successors, the issue of new types of anonymous coins did not cease and the evidence of hoards shows the two kinds of follis to have circulated side by side, presumably on an equal footing. The anonymous series was christened the Anonymous Bronze Coinage by Mr. Bellinger, but Anonymous Folles would be preferable, since the coins are of copper, not bronze, and are all of a single denomination. Dr. Metcalf prefers to call them the *Rex Regnantium* Coinage, but while the inscription IhSYS XRISTYS bASILEY bASILE, either in this form or with the first two words abbreviated to IS XS, appears on the reverses of most of the early classes, it is absent from the later ones. Nor is it clear whether it was intended to represent *Rex Regnantium* or *Rex Regum*, for although *Rex Regnantium* had been used on the gold, the historian Scylitzes, who wrote in the mid-eleventh century and can be assumed to represent the views of the time, interpreted the inscription on the copper as Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων.[2]

The origin of this anonymous coinage presents no problem, for the literary sources bear out the numismatic evidence in ascribing its introduction to John Zimisces. No copper coins bearing his name exist, and the earliest anonymous ones are normally overstruck on those of Nicephorus II or Constantine VII. Cedrenus, who copies Scylitzes verbally, described the innovation as follows: "And he ordered also the image of the Savior to be engraved on the nomisma and the obol [i.e., follis], which had not been done before this. And Greek letters were engraved on the other side to about this effect: *Jesus Christ, King of Kings*. And the emperors who succeeded him did likewise."[3] This statement is not exact in one important point, for John issued no "anonymous" gold coins and the nomisma had long borne an image of Christ,[4] but so far as the follis

[1] The miliaresion of Alexander (Pl. xxxv. 3) is only an apparent exception, for the bust of Christ on its reverse is no more than a subordinate element in the type, not the type itself.

[2] The phrase βασιλεὺς βασιλέων occurs twice in the Apocalypse (17:14, 19:16), ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων in I Tim. 6:15. Each is rendered by *rex regum* in the Vulgate.

[3] Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 413–14.

[4] It has been suggested by A. N. Oikonomides, "John Skylitzes on Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage," *The Turtle: North American Journal of Numismatics*, 6 (1), Jan. 1967, 15–17, that

is concerned it is quite correct. The new coinage must date from the very beginning of the reign, i.e., the opening months of 970.[5] Scylitzes gives John's piety as the motive, and in view of his deeply religious nature this may well be correct, though one would like to think it was in part an act of contrition for the atrocious murder of his predecessor. The continuation, if not the origin, of the series involved a probably conscious element of religious propaganda, since the Saracen wars of Nicephorus and John showed some aspects of a Crusade and the follis was the denomination that would circulate most widely amongst the common people in the conquered provinces.

The Anonymous Folles have so many features in common that they are best discussed as a group. The "signed" folles struck from 1059 onward are dealt with in the introductions to each reign, but where they affect the chronology and mint attributions of the anonymous series they will be covered here. The metrology has been discussed in the Introduction, p. 71.

Classes, Types, and Chronology

The Anonymous Folles can be divided into fifteen classes, which except in the case of the first two are distinguished from each other by changes in type. Except for the last three classes their order of issue is now certain, but to avoid confusion with earlier terminology they are now customarily referred to by letters instead of by a numerical sequence.

The elucidation of the series can be very briefly described. Sabatier attributed to John Zimisces the coins of what would now be termed Classes A, B, C, D, G, and K, ignoring the need to provide any for his successors; Classes H, I, J, L, M, and N he gave to the Latin emperors after 1204, since no coins of these were otherwise known.[6] Wroth accepted the same broad division of classes but distributed them differently. The first group he divided between the emperors from John Zimisces to Constantine X inclusive; the later ones, on the strength of Schlumberger's quite unfounded assertion that they were commonly found in Syria and rarely elsewhere, he transferred to the crusaders in Syria at the time of the First Crusade.[7] Wroth's attributions[8] of the first group to particular

Cedrenus may have miscopied Scylitzes by inserting a καὶ, the *nomismata* of the original text having been intended for "coinage" in general, not gold coins in particular (Προσέταξε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ νομίσματι: Ἐν τῷ ὀβολῷ . . . "He ordered also concerning the coinage: On the obol . . ."). The Madrid MS of Scylitzes, however, of which I have consulted a microfilm, contains the offending καὶ, and I think that the historian simply made a slip.

[5] Wroth followed Sabatier in dating the introduction of the Anonymous coinage to 972, since Scylitzes refers to it immediately after describing John's Bulgarian triumph. But it is clear that the placing of the entry has no specific chronological significance, and since there exist no copper coins bearing John's name, Bellinger is surely right in dating them from the beginning of the reign.

[6] Sabatier, II. 142–4, Nos. 5–12 (Pl. XLVIII. 2–9); 235–6, Nos. 1–7 (Pls. LVIII. 15–19, LIX. 1–2).

[7] Wroth, II. 554. Schlumberger ascribed some of them to the counts of Edessa, an error which has taken some time in dying. R. A. G. Carson, *Coins* (London, 1962), 223, still gives this attribution for one of them. In view of the common belief that some types of the Anonymous Folles were connected with the First Crusade, it should be emphasized that they had nothing to do with each other. The latest issues had ceased to be normal currency in the Empire before the crusaders crossed its frontiers.

[8] Wroth, II. 480–3, where the grounds for his classification are set out.

emperors were based partly on the overstriking of one type by another and partly on the assumption that when the same ornaments appear on both gold and copper they are likely to have been in use simultaneously, a view which subsequent research has not endorsed. It was left for Bellinger, basing himself on the great numbers of overstruck coins found in the Corinth excavations, to bring together virtually all the anonymous classes and propose a new classification, extending from the reign of John Zimisces to early in that of Alexius I.[9] This classification has been modified on points of detail by Whitting and Piper in the light of overstrikes in their respective collections in England[10] and by Margaret Thompson on the basis of vast numbers of overstruck anonymous coins from the Agora excavations at Athens.[11] Even apart from the need to revise some of its details Bellinger's scheme was awkward to use, since his plates and his text were differently numbered and both employed Roman numerals, leading to easy confusion with the similar system of Wroth. Miss Thompson replaced these by the system of alphabetical references which is in general use today.[12]

The types, numbering, and attributions of the fifteen classes are set out on the accompanying table,[13] and the coins are illustrated on Pls. XLVIII–LV, LX, LXI, LXVIII, and LXX. The types require little comment. Of the effigies of Christ on the obverses, one can certainly and another very probably be identified with that of a well-known icon in the capital. The certain identification is that of the half-figure of Class C, which is that of Christ Antiphonetes, an icon held in particular veneration by the Empress Zoe.[14] The probable identification is the bust of Classes A, B, E, H, I, K, L, and N, where the Gospel Book is supported from beneath, in contrast to the clasping gesture of the typical Pantocrator bust, and Christ's right hand is held to the side of His body in the sling of the cloak. This is probably the gesture of the standing Christ of Chalke, greatly venerated by John Zimisces, which would explain its introduction on his coins.[15] Of the reverse types, those of Classes A–F, with the exception of that of Class C interpolated into the series to gratify Zoe's religious predilections, are all variants of the IhSYS XRISTYS

[9] A. R. Bellinger, *The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze Coinage* (NNM, No. 35 [New York, 1928]).

[10] P. D. Whitting and C. H. Piper, in a series of notes in *Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin* (1949–52). They are as follows: (1) "The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze" (1949), 328–9; (2) "Another Byzantine Anonymous" (1950), 162–3; (3) "Re-arranging Some Byzantine Anonymous Types" (1951), 143–5; (4) "Dating Byzantine Anonymous Issues" (1951), 192–3; (5) "A Common Byzantine Anonymous Overstrike" (1951), 359–61; (6) "Overstrikes in the Byzantine Anonymous Bronze Series" (1951), 377–81.

[11] *The Coins*, 73–4, with detailed discussion on 109–115.

[12] A convenient summary will be found in P. D. Whitting, "The Anonymous Byzantine Bronze," *NC*[6], 15 (1955), 89–99.

[13] Adapted from Whitting, *art. cit.*, 99. I follow him in suppressing Bellinger's Class XII (= Sabatier, Pl. LVIII. 16), which was evidently a badly struck specimen of Class I. I have also corrected his description of Class L in the light of Sabatier, Pl. LVIII. 18, and other specimens, and add Classes M and N to include Sabatier, Pl. LIX. 1, 2, or, rather, amended versions of these. Class N is seriously out of place—the size of the dies used (Pl. LXX, N. 1) suggests that it would be about contemporary with Class H—but it would be inconvenient to disturb the accepted lettering, and since the coin represents no more than a rare provincial issue the error is not serious.

[14] Above, p. 173.

[15] Above, pp. 160–2.

bASILEY bASILE formula, while the later ones are either a bust of the Virgin or some variety of cross, elaborately decorated or flanked by the IC XC NIKA formula already used on Zoe's coins. The leaved base to the crosses on Classes H and I and the crescent beneath that on Class J suggest a possible connection between these types and the designs of mid-eleventh-century imperial ornaments, since a cross with a leaved base forms the head of the scepter held by Constantine IX on Class I of his histamena and a rare variety of the same coin shows a crescent beneath the cross of the emperor's globus cruciger,[16] but a cross with leaved base is too common in religious art[17] for much stress to be laid on this. Miss Thompson's suggestion that the type of Class I might be intended to symbolize the Christian cross triumphing over the Muslim crescent[18] is unacceptable, since the crescent was a Turkish rather than a Muslim symbol and was not adopted by the Ottomans until after their capture of Constantinople. Nor can it have to do with the lunar crescent later employed to symbolize the Virgin, for this is peculiar to Western art—it does not occur in Byzantium—and is not known before the late fifteenth century.[19]

From 1059 onward the attribution of most Anonymous Folles to the reigns of particular emperors can be considered certain, since they are found overstruck on or by coins of Constantine X and his successors. The pattern is carefully analyzed by Miss Thompson, and there is no need to go over her evidence in detail. Only on one important point have her conclusions had to be modified. The earliest anonymous coin known to her which was overstruck on a signed follis of Constantine X belonged to Class F. She therefore attributed Class F to Constantine X's reign and gave Class E to Isaac I. A specimen of Class E overstruck on Constantine X has since come to light, so Class E must go to Constantine X also.[20] It is surprising that this emperor should have issued two anonymous types, since his successors down to Nicephorus III issued only one each, but he also issued two signed classes while other emperors issued only one, so that some parallelism between signed and unsigned classes may have existed. The attribution of Classes E and F to Constantine X may also explain why they are rather rare, for if they are added together as issues of the same emperor, they fall well into line with the others. The attribution of the anonymous coins to the reigns of specific emperors must in any case be regarded as no more than approximate, for while overstriking shows in which reign a particular class was being minted, it does not show that the coin's issue coincided with the reign's beginning and end, and since the coins lack any specific imperial reference the usual reasons for changing their type on an emperor's accession would not operate. Although Miss Thompson, Dr. Metcalf, and others have assumed that each issue was formally withdrawn and replaced by another, there is no reason to believe that anything so definite ever took place. It is contradicted by the wide diversity of overstriking that in fact occurs—systematic withdrawal would have virtually limited overstriking to the immediately preceding type—and by the mixed character of hoards, which show that coins

[16] Pl. LVIII. 1b.
[17] Above, p. 176.
[18] Thompson, *Coins*, 115.
[19] L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, II. 2 (Paris, 1957), 79–83, 617.
[20] A. F. Johnson, "A New Anonymous Bronze of Constantine X," *MN*, 15 (1969), 97–9.

TABLE 22

CLASSES OF THE ANONYMOUS FOLLES

Class	Description	Class and Attribution			Predominant Combination
		Wroth	Bellinger	Miss Thompson	
A (1)	Bust of Christ *Rev.* 4 lines inscr. } small module	I John I – Romanus III	I (small) John I	A (1) John I	Over Nic. II and Constantine VII
A (2)	Bust of Christ *Rev.* 4 lines inscr. } large module		I (large) Basil II – Romanus III	A (2) Basil II, Constantine VIII	—
B	Bust of Christ *Rev.* Cross on steps w. inscr.	II Michael IV	II Michael IV	B Romanus III	Over A (2)
C	Half-figure of Christ *Rev.* Jewelled cross, IS XS‖NI KA	III Theodora	III Constantine IX	C Michael IV	Over B
D	Christ seated, throne w. back *Rev.* 3 lines inscr.	V Constantine X	VI Isaac I	D Constantine IX	Over C
E	Bust of Christ *Rev.* 3 lines inscr.	VI Isaac I	IV Theodora	E Isaac I	Rare, sometimes over A (2)
F	Christ seated, backless throne *Rev.* 3 lines inscr.	IV Michael VI	V Michael VI	F Constantine X	Rare, sometimes over E
G	Bust of Christ *Rev.* Bust of Virgin	VII Constantine IX	VII Michael VII	G Romanus IV	Over Const. X and sometimes over Romanus IV
H	Bust of Christ *Rev.* Patriarchal cross on leaved base	Crusaders, temp. Alexius I	VIII Alexius I	H Michael VII	Nicephorus III over H
I	Bust of Christ *Rev.* Cross w. X on leaved base		IX, XII Alexius I	I Nicephorus III	Over Michael VII
J	Bust of Christ *Rev.* Cross above crescent		X Alexius I	J Alexius I	Over Nicephorus III
K	Bust of Christ *Rev.* Virgin standing, globule border	VIII Constantine IX	XI Alexius I	K Alexius I	Over J
L	Bust of Christ *Rev.* Cross, IC XC NI KA at ends	—	XIII Alexius I	L Alexius I	Rare; no overstrike identified
M	Christ seated, throne with back *Rev.* Jeweled cross on crescent	—	—	—	Rare; no overstrike identified
N	Bust of Christ *Rev.* Patriarchal cross, IC XC, NI KA	—	—	—	Over Class F, under Nicephorus III

struck years and even decades earlier remained freely in circulation.[21] The overstriking was a result of mint practice, not of government policy.[22]

The transfer of Class E to Constantine X raises problems regarding the earlier chronology for which no fully satisfactory solution can be offered. Miss Thompson assumed that Class A1 was struck by John I, that Class A2 covered the reigns of Basil II and Constantine VIII, and that thereafter, between 1028 and 1055, each reign, with the exception of the very short ones of Michael V (1041–2) and Zoe and Theodora (1042), had a new type. Romanus III (1028–34) had Class B, Michael IV (1034–41) had Class C, and Constantine IX (1042–55) had Class D. With Class E this system broke down, for three reigns filled the years 1055–9 and there was no very good reason for ascribing it to Isaac II (1057–9) rather than to Theodora (1055–6) or Michael VI (1056–7). The transfer of Class E to Constantine X makes the situation worse, and it is now apparent that the notion of "one ruler, one type" in this early period must be abandoned. We have no grounds for supposing that Class A2 ended in 1028, and our only firm date is provided by the type of Class C, with the effigy of Christ Antiphonetes. Although Zoe was empress, in turn, of Romanus III and Michael IV, its introduction can best be attributed to 1042, for Michael V would certainly have deferred to her wishes in such a matter and her subsequent position would have secured the retention of the type during the 1040's. Class D can be better ascribed to the 1050's rather than pinned down to a particular reign—if we could identify the seated Christ of the obverse type we might be able to date it better—while Class B may well have started under Michael IV (1034–41) and not as early as 1028. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot go further. If the privy marks on Class A2 eventually turn out to be chronological in character future scholars may be able to give more precise dates for these classes, or at least for the transition from Class A2 to Class B.

A minor problem exists for Classes L, M, and N, the last three in the anonymous series. They differ from all the earlier ones in their extreme rarity, being absent or virtually absent from the major excavations and recorded in less than half a dozen specimens apiece. The only overstrikes known to me amongst them occur in what is here termed Class N, one of the two known specimens of which is overstruck on Class F and the other overstruck by Nicephorus III. The types and fabric of coins of Classes L and N associate them clearly with the Anonymous sequence. Those of Class M are thinner and lighter, and Mr. Hendy believes they are later, so that he has not included them under the coinage of Alexius I. I find it difficult to separate them from the others. The weights and module of both Classes L and M place them near the end of the series, and though which came first remains uncertain, Class N is certainly earlier than either; if it is contemporary with Class H, as its size suggests, it would belong to the late 1070's. I am inclined to suppose that all three were struck by the pretenders with whom Nicephorus III had to contend at the beginning and end of his reign, and that a provincial origin accounts for both the rarity of actual specimens and for the fact that only one of them has been identified amongst the undertypes of imperial issues.

[21] E.g., a hoard of nineteen coins found at Sparta in 1949 which included Classes A2 (2 specimens), B (8), C (1), D (2), G (1), J (1), and K (1), and one specimen each of signed coins of Constantine X and Nicephorus III and of the type ascribed here to Nicephorus Bryennius (R. V. Nicholls in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 45 [1950], 294–5).

[22] *DOC*, II. 218–19.

MINTS

Sabatier and Wroth assumed without question that the Anonymous Folles were all struck at Constantinople, but Whitting's work on them led him to believe that a number of mints were involved. Many difficulties could be explained on such a hypothesis. One is the rarity of Classes E and F—to which D can also be added—and the uncertainty that formerly existed over their order of issue, since evidence of overstrikes seemed contradictory. They all have essentially the same reverse type—IS XS || bASILЄ || bASIL with an ornament above and below—and the situation would be simplified if one could envisage them as a single issue, with three mints interpreting differently a general instruction to use a figure of Christ as an obverse type. Similarly, one could avoid the difficulty numismatists have felt over admitting the apparently simultaneous issue of signed and anonymous coins in the same mint, with the dies for one being used indiscriminately to overstrike specimens of the other. The coins could be attributed to different mints, or at least one could assume enough leeway between the time-tables of different mints to explain why there exist, say, coins of Class G overstruck on signed coins of Romanus IV and also coins of Romanus IV overstruck on ones of Class G. If signed and Anonymous Folles were being struck together in a single mint, one would expect accidental muling of types to have occasionally occurred, but no instance of such has been reported. A number of mints are likely, on a priori grounds, to have been opened to cope with Class A2, since the increase in weight would probably—though not necessarily[23]—imply a general recoinage, although the same consideration would not apply to later classes.

Class A2 differs from the others in its extraordinary variety of ornamentation, and its problems will be discussed separately below. The mint attributions of the other classes can be considered at two levels. Are there divergences in style, weight, fabric, or design within a class which, when linked with irregularities in distribution, would justify our attributing the coins to a number of mints? Or are there grounds for assigning entire classes to separate mints, as has been suggested above as a possibility for Classes D, E, and F?

The only serious attempt which has been made to examine the question of mints has been that of D. M. Metcalf, which he did on the basis of a comparison between the proportions of different classes found in various excavations, particularly those of Athens, Corinth, and Antioch.[24] While he has brought to light many points of considerable significance, the main question remains unsolved. If the copper coinage between 970 and 1092, both signed and unsigned, be taken as a whole, the proportions between the different

[23] Not necessarily, for a change in the valuation of the follis might have allowed the older and lighter ones to be left in circulation at a lower figure, as seems to have been done when very heavy folles were introduced in earlier centuries, under Anastasius I and Constantine IV. But a general recoinage seems more likely.

[24] "Provincial Issues among the Byzantine Bronze Coinage of the Eleventh Century," *HBN*, 15 (1961), 25–32; *Coinage in the Balkans 820–1355* (Thessalonica, 1965), 41–7, 51–3; "Interpretation of the Byzantine 'Rex Regnantium' Folles of Class 'A', c. 970–1030," *NC*[7], 10 (1970), 199–219. The last of these articles was published after this section was written, and I have not taken it into account in the revision.

classes at Athens and Corinth are with few exceptions very close indeed, while those of Antioch are in some respects very different. This is partly a consequence of the troubles that beset Asia Minor and Syria in the 1070's—the proportion of coins of Michael VII and all later classes at Antioch is very low, 9.4 percent of the total as against 54.4 percent at Athens and 38.0 percent at Corinth—but there are also big discrepancies in the period of Constantine X; Antioch has 11.6 percent signed coins of this emperor as against 1.0 percent at Athens and 0.9 percent at Corinth, while it has no coins at all of Class F as against 2.5 percent at both of the Greek sites. Some of these discrepancies are borne out by material from elsewhere, and Metcalf concludes that, as between Constantine X and Nicephorus III, the former's coins were primarily those of the metropolitan region while the latter's were a provincial issue, and that the coins of Classes E and F were struck in Greece, possibly at Thessalonica, and not in any quantity elsewhere.

Whether further research will endorse these conclusions remains to be seen, for alternative explanations of some of the discrepancies can easily be envisaged. A difference of 9 percent in the proportions of signed coins of Nicephorus III between Athens and Corinth may be due to the civil wars of his reign having affected the even distribution of coin. Antioch had not simply a higher percentage of signed coins of Constantine X than had Athens and Corinth; it had a higher proportion of signed coins of Constantine X, Romanus IV, and even Michael VII. Since there can be no question of the coins of Constantine X being actually struck at Antioch—they play a prominent role in Rumanian hoards—one might argue that a special effort was made to push the circulation of coins bearing the name and effigy of the reigning emperor in peripheral parts of the Empire, while the Anonymous types were left to find their way into the provinces by the slower processes of commerce. Class F may have been absent from Antioch, but it circulated sufficiently widely in Asia Minor[25] for me to be sceptical of the claim that is was predominantly Greek in origin. We know so little about the factors governing the distribution of coin that we must proceed cautiously about using small inequalities in site finds as evidence of local minting.

A related problem is that of the mints of the "signed" coinages of 1059–92. Wroth ascribed these folles to Constantinople without discussion, while Hendy has recently argued that they should be attributed to Thessalonica.[26] A large proportion of the copper tetarteron coins of Alexius I of the post-reform period seem to come from this mint, and since many of these are marked by a cross or by an imperial monogram, or by both, it is not unreasonable to make a similar attribution for coins of the years 1059–92, which in many cases display the same characteristics. In one particular case Hendy holds the attribution to be a certainty. The rare folles with CBNB in the angles of a cross,[27] which some years ago I tentatively attributed to the usurper Nicephorus Bryennius (1077–8), he transfers to another would-be usurper, Nicephorus Basilacius (1078), who is known to

[25] Metcalf's table shows specimens found at Sardis and Priene, five specimens in Mr. George Bates's collection were acquired in Istanbul, and I know of specimens bearing Arabic countermarks. The latter proves their circulation far into the interior.

[26] M. F. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, XII (Washington, D.C., 1969), 77–80.

[27] Below, pp. 836–8.

have been in possession of Thessalonica immediately prior to his overthrow by the future emperor Alexius Comnenus.

The attribution of these "signed" coins to a provincial mint or mints is obviously an attractive theory, but their specific ascription to Thessalonica involves a number of difficulties. It is not borne out by what we know of their distribution, imperfect as this knowledge is, and in the specific case of the CBNB coins Hendy's argument is a circular one: the coins were struck at Thessalonica because this city was held by Basilacius, and they were struck by Basilacius rather than Bryennius because Basilacius is known to have occupied Thessalonica. It is argued later that they were not struck by Basilacius, and that they certainly cannot have been struck at Thessalonica if this was an already flourishing mint.

Any mint attributions of the "signed" folles of the later eleventh century must take their distribution and the pattern of their overstriking into account. Table 23 includes figures for the number of specimens in three major collections (Dumbarton Oaks, the British Museum, and the Bibliothèque Nationale), to give an impression of their relative rarity, together with those from three important excavations and from the Georgian National Museum.[28] Although the coins at Tiflis are not excavation material in the strict

TABLE 23

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNED FOLLES, 1059–92

Under Alexius I, my Class 1 is Hendy's Pre-reform Type A of Thessalonica, my Class 2 is an amalgamation of his Pre-reform Type B and his Post-reform "Third Coinage," since the types of these were similar and they are not differentiated in the excavation reports, and my Class 3 is the one which he gives (p. 76) doubtfully to either an "Eastern Mint" or Thessalonica.

Ruler	BM	BN	DO	Athens	Corinth	Antioch	Tiflis Museum
Constantine X							
Class 1	14	29	32	17	15	49	8
Class 2	6	12	17	11	4	8	4
Romanus IV	5	5	20	4	21	3	5
Michael VII	7	11	19	7	4	3	4
Nicephorus III	10	11	20	677	315	1	4
Alexius I (Thessalonica)							
Class 1	1	1	2	2	4	—	—
Class 2	7	9	25	602	372	7	1
Class 3	3	3	4	2	1	1	1

[28] T. Ya. Abramishvili, *Vizantiiskie moneti Gosudarstvennogo Muzeya Gruzii* (Tbilisi, 1965), 88ff.

sense, they are mainly if not entirely of local provenance and can be used as evidence of the circulating medium of the region.

If all the signed folles had been struck at a single provincial mint, one would expect some degree of uniformity in their local distribution. Irregularities in the small figures count for little, since the element of chance is so great. The exceptionally high figure of forty-nine specimens of Constantine X's Class 1 at Antioch is a warning against overhasty conclusions, for if one had no comparative material outside that given here one might fairly assume that they were minted in the city, which was certainly not the case. But the discrepancy between the small numbers of signed coins of Constantine X, Romanus IV, and Michael VII found at Antioch and Corinth and the huge numbers of Nicephorus III and of Alexius I's (Thessalonican) Class 2 from the same sites cannot be passed over so easily. If the later coins were minted at Thessalonica, and the numbers found give a fair picture of those reaching the two cities, why do not we find comparably large numbers of the early issues as well?

Mr. Hendy, in discussing the matter with me, has argued that the discrepancy resulted from a change in arrangements for coin distribution. Under Nicephorus it was decided that Thessalonica should supply Greece with coin, which it had not been specially engaged in doing before, and large quantities of his folles were in consequence sent to the provincial capitals. But if Thessalonica were now supplying Greece one would expect a decline in imports of Anonymous Folles from Constantinople, for which there is no evidence at all,[29] and the difficulty of assigning the folles of Nicephorus III to the same provincial mint as those of his predecessors is reinforced by the evidence of their overstriking. Coins from a single provincial mint would tend to be fairly frequently overstruck on each other, since there would be higher proportions of such signed coins in local circulation. As between the coins of Constantine X, Romanus IV, and Michael VII such overstriking is in fact common, though the proportions are not so high as to prove them products of a single mint.[30] With Nicephorus III, however, we find the astonishing fact that *none* of those in the major collections are overstruck on earlier signed coins. What the explanation of this anomaly may be we do not know—it was certainly not a question of weight, since Nicephorus' signed coins are frequently overstruck on anonymous ones[31]—but it seems to dispose completely of the idea that all pre-Alexian signed coins come from a single provincial mint. It is equally clear that the signed coins of Nicephorus III stand apart from the rest, though whether they should be attributed to Thessalonica, or perhaps even to a local mint at Athens, is for the future to decide. In the present state of our knowledge I see no satisfactory alternative to cataloguing them all under Constantinople.

[29] Athens finds included 359, 77, and 234 of Classes I, J, and K respectively, while for Corinth the figures were 185, 59, and 146.

[30] Constantine X's Class 2 is found overstruck on his Class 1 (3 out of 11 identifiable overstrikes at Athens, 3 out of 6 coins in the BM), Romanus IV on Constantine X (2 out of 20 coins at DO), Michael VII on Romanus IV (1 out of 7 overstrikes at Athens, 8 out of 19 coins at DO, 2 out of 7 in the BM).

[31] 264 out of 677 Athens, 4 out of 20 DO, 4 out of 10 BM.

Ornaments on Class A2. Class A2 differs from the other classes of Anonymous Folles in the great variety of ornaments found on the coins that belong to it. The variations occur on both the obverse and reverse, on the obverse in the ornaments of the arms of the cross in Christ's nimbus and on the cover of the Gospel Book, on the reverse in those above and below the four lines of inscription. Other classes are remarkably uniform in these particulars; stylistic differences apart, I know of only isolated variants in Classes D and E (cf. Pls. LX. Da, LXI. Ea), and for the rest there seem to be none at all. But for Class A2 between fifty and sixty variants are known. The basic listing of them is that of Bellinger, on the basis of the material found at Corinth. Subsequent research has found little to add to it, but since some of those he recorded, often from poorly preserved specimens and with reservations over details, have not been confirmed, the precise total cannot be given with certainty. An amended table is given on p. 645. It preserves his basic numbering, since the time has not yet come to revise it, and new varieties have been interpolated into the list (as 1a, 14a, 14b, etc.) at what seem the most suitable places. The table is not wholly satisfactory, since Bellinger's list was constructed as a convenient index rather than scientifically, so that it takes no account of the sizes or general appearance of the coins on which the ornaments are found. It is this that in large measure explains the confused effect given by the reproductions of the coins on Pls. XLVIII–LIV, with large and small coins indiscriminately mixed together.

How should these ornaments be interpreted? There clearly must have been a purpose behind them; it cannot be supposed that the die-sinkers devised them for themselves and used them at random. Equally, however, they represent details of a kind which no central government bureau would concern itself with; the mint must have received instructions to differentiate between its coins in some way, it being left to the mint authorities to decide how best to do it. Further, the folles on which the ornaments occur correspond, at least in large measure, to the reign of Basil II, and it cannot be an accident that similar though not always identical ornaments occur on his nomismata and miliaresia, in the nimbus of Christ and on the shaft of the cross in the first case, and above and below the inscriptions in the other. It seems evident that at the beginning of his reign, and presumably in 977, the mint was instructed to mark its products, in all metals, in some fashion, and devised such ornaments to do so.

From this point we can only argue by analogy. The ornaments are far too numerous to indicate mints or officinae, and wherever large numbers of similar ornaments occur in numismatics, the explanation for them is almost always chronological in character. They may separate the periods of time for which individual officials were responsible for mint output, whether these periods were regular and precise, like the six-monthly sequence of magistrates' marks one finds on the late mediaeval coins of Florence, or irregular, like those identifying the output of particular *massari* at the mint of Venice. Or they may be dissociated from individuals and simply mark periods of time, being chosen and changed at regular intervals by the mint authorities, just as the dates had been changed annually on coins of the sixth and seventh centuries.

Some such scheme, I would suggest, was in operation during Basil's reign. It has been argued above that there is some reason to believe that the ornaments on his signed coinage

TABLE 24

ORNAMENTS ON THE ANONYMOUS FOLLES, CLASS A2

No.	Obverse		Reverse		No.	Obverse		Reverse	
	In Cross	On Book	Above Inscription	Below Inscription		In Cross	On Book	Above Inscription	Below Inscription
1	·		— ∩∪∩ —	— ∩∪∩ —	24b	· ·		·	·
1a			∞	∞	25			— ⁘ —	— ⁘ —
2	· ·		Nothing	Nothing	26			· ⁘ ·	· ⁘ ·
3			Nothing	·	27			· ⁘ ·	· ⁘ ·
4			·	Nothing	29			— ◇	— ◇
5			·	·	30	· · ·		— · ∩ · —	— · ∩ · —
6			—	—	31	+		· ↑ ·	· ↑ ·
6a			— —	— —	32		+	+	+
7			— · —	— · —	32a		(?)	— ⊕ —	— ⊕ —
8			⁘	⁘	33	⁘		∞	∞
9			— ⁘ —	— ⁘ —	33a			· Φ ·	· Φ ·
10			⧺ (?)	⧺ (?)	34	⁙	(?)	— ✱ —	— ✱ —
11			⧺	⧺	35			— ◇ —	— ◇ —
12			— ✱ —	— ✱ —	36			— Γ —	— Γ —
14			— ◇ —	— ◇ —	38		(?)	— ›X‹ —	— ›X‹ —
14a			— ◈ —	— ◈ —	39				
14b			∞	∞	40				
15			— ·A· —	— ·A· —	40a	⁙			
15a			— A —	— A —	40b				
16			— Λ —	— Λ —	41	⁘		— ◇ —	— ◇ —
16a			— ·Λ· —	— ·Λ· —	42		(?)	— A —	— A —
17			— h —	— h —	42a			∞	∞
18			— R —	— R —	42b			(?)	— Φ —
19			— P —	— P —	43	×		— C —	— C —
19a			— ∪ —	— ∪ —	45	∪		— ⊕ —	— ⊕ —
20			Nothing	·	47	□		□	□
21			— ✱ —	— ✱ —	48			— ⁘ —	— ⁘ —
22			— ◇ —	— ◇ —	49			— ⁘ —	— ⁘ —
23			— ⊙ —	— ⊙ —	50			— ∽ —	— ∽ —
24			∞	∞	51	· ·		— + —	— + —
24a		(?)							

NOTES TO TABLE 24

1 The scroll ornament has been redrawn, Bellinger's design being not quite correct.

1a Inserted from DO specimen, and recorded by Miss Edwards from Corinth.

6a Three specimens recorded by Miss Edwards from Corinth and two by Metcalf from Athens (Nos. 455–6).

9 There are two pear-shaped objects outside the nimbus of Christ on the obverse, as on some eleventh-century silver coins (e.g., Pl. LXIV. 6e).

10 Existence very doubtful. Bellinger took this from W. p. 478, No. 25, where the form of the reverse ornament is given as uncertain, and which is in fact a badly preserved example of No. 11. One specimen from Corinth is noted by Miss Edwards, but I suspect a confusion with No. 11.

11 Bellinger prints the reverse design as ·÷:·:÷·, but the pellets are normally joined, as shown in the table here.

12, (13) Bellinger makes these two separate varieties, No. 12 having ✱ and No. 13 ⁝:⁝ as the central element in the ornaments on the reverse. They are really the same, the pellets not always being completely joined to each other. Bellinger gives the central ornament on the book of No. 13 (one or two pellets) as uncertain, but it is in fact one pellet.

14a The ◈ of No. 14a, of which there is a specimen at DO, is quite distinct from the ◇ of No. 14.

14b Specimen in the BN.

15a, 16a Listed by Miss Edwards from Corinth as distinct from those with — A — and — • Λ • — No. 16a is confirmed from DO.

19 Not confirmed, and Miss Edwards does not list a specimen at Corinth. Bellinger gives the symbol on the book as uncertain, and so had presumably seen a specimen.

19a Inserted from DO specimen.

22 No specimen listed by Miss Edwards for Corinth, and perhaps an error for No. 14.

24a Inserted from DO specimens. The book ornament has an outer border of pellets but the inner part is uncertain, perhaps four pellets in angles of a cross.

24b The DO specimen has only the pellet beneath the inscription visible, but one in the Corinth hoard of 1936 has both (Metcalf in *Ann. Brit. School at Athens*, 60 [1965], Pl. I. 29).

25–28 Bellinger follows Wroth in simplifying the design on the book to ⊙, but it is really ⊠.

(28) Bellinger makes Var. 28, with • ·:· • above the inscription, distinct from 27, but I believe it to be only a badly formed • ·⁝· •. The design is often flattened owing to lack of space. It is in any case difficult to distinguish between 26 and 27. The middle pellets can overlap each other, so that it is not always apparent how many were intended.

29 Not confirmed, and not listed by Miss Edwards for Corinth. Perhaps an error for 41 or 42b.

30 From W., p. 479, No. 37. The three pellets are clear on the coin; otherwise one would suspect it was an error for 16a.

31, 32 The cross ornament has often the form ✠.

32a Inserted from DO specimen.

33 Not confirmed, and not listed by Miss Edwards for Corinth.

33a Specimen in the BN (*BNC*, II.598, No. 64). Mme Morrisson numbers it 52 in her table on p. 587.

34 Two listed by Miss Edwards for Corinth.

35 Not confirmed, and not listed by Miss Edwards for Corinth.

(37) Bellinger 37, from W., p. 489, No. 36, which is alleged to have — ∘ — above the inscription and — Γ — beneath it, has been deleted. The upper ornament, damaged on the die, was misinterpreted by Wroth and is certainly another — Γ —, as Var. 36.

38 Not confirmed, and not listed by Miss Edwards for Corinth.

40, 40a Wroth and Bell (*Sardis*, No. 935) both noted a difference between ⁝·⁝ and ⁝▪⁝ in the nimbus cross. Bellinger made no distinction between them, but it seems to me safer to insert 40a, with ⁝▪⁝ in the nimbus cross, and 40b, with ⁝▪⁝ both in nimbus cross and on book, as separate varieties.

41 Bellinger gives a single pellet as the ornament on the book, not ⁘, but as with part of his 42 there is a typographical error—the ink on the printer's block has failed to "take"—and I have corrected accordingly. All specimens I have seen which have ⁘ in the nimbus cross and — ◇ — on the reverse have ⁘ on the book.

42 Not confirmed, and not listed by Miss Edwards for Corinth. There is a printing error in the design of the nimbus ornament in Bellinger's table.

42a Inserted from DO specimen.

42b Inserted from ANS specimen.

43 Bellinger followed Wroth in simplifying the ornament on the book to ⊙.

(44) Deleted as a duplication of No. 47. Bellinger gives the cross ornament as X (?), which I take to be a misreading for □. In poorly preserved specimens, the prominent corners of the square ornament could easily be mistaken for the ends of cross-arms.

45 Bellinger followed Wroth in giving the central part of the reverse ornament as an *alpha* (A). It is really a leaf, with a pellet, usually joined to the outer tendril, to each side of the stem.

(46) Deleted as probably identical with Var. 45. Bellinger gave the reverse ornament (from W. p. 493, Nos. 12–13) as — ⚲ —, and Miss Edwards records this form from Corinth. But Wroth's Nos. 10, 12, and 13 are identical, despite the distinction made in his text, and the upper ornament of No. 11—the lower one is illegible—is essentially the same, though slightly more pointed at the top.

47 The ornament in the book is blurred in Bellinger's text.

49 The pellets in the upper limb of the cross are usually joined (X not ⁝⁝).

51 Bellinger gives the cross and book ornaments as uncertain, but Miss Edwards records five specimens from Corinth with ·· in cross and ▦ on book. Its place in the table ought therefore to be after Nos. 2–19, but in order not to create confusion over numbering I have left it where it is.

H. Longuet listed in *NZ*, 77 (1957), 39, Nos. 225–38, some variants to Wroth—he did not know Bellinger's publication—but the details are too incomplete to allow of their use and the Hollschek collection, from which most of them were taken, is now dispersed.

Ratto 1932 is described as having ··· above the inscription, but since no details of the ornaments on the nimbus and book are given, and the reading may possibly have been an error for Var. 8, it has not been included.

were changed at yearly intervals, with twenty-four marks covering Classes II and III of his nomismata, issued between 977 and 1001, and about twelve those of Class II of his miliaresia, datable with fair certainty to 977–89. Class A2 of the copper, however, began in 977 and ended some years before 1042, since Class C was either introduced or already being struck in that year and Class B has to be fitted in before it. The period of issue of Class A2 may thus correspond to Basil II's reign, or it may have run on through those of Constantine VIII and possibly Romanus III as well, but it is not likely to have gone on longer. The periods of time involved would be forty-nine years, or fifty-two years, or fifty-seven years, figures corresponding very well to the number of ornaments known for Class A2. There are obvious difficulties in such an interpretation, the chief one being the great variety of weights found associated with some of the commoner marks, for while one weight change in a year is acceptable, the occurrence of several seems unlikely. Much of the material available for study comes from excavations and can throw little light on the matter; what is needed is hoard material which may indicate how the coins are grouped together in time. The problem, in any case, is one for extended research, to which the material here published may make some contribution.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class A1		
			+EMMA NOVHA Bust of Christ (Type VIIb) facing, bearded, with nimbus cross having 2 pellets in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book with ornate cover (central pellet in border of dots) from beneath. In field, IC XC	+IhSYS XRISTYS bASILEY' bASILE' (form of A variable)	970–976(?)
			(a) Not overstruck		
*A1.1	Æ 9.18	26 ↓		A	
A1.2	Æ 7.22	28 ↓		Xh for XR, A	
*A1.3	Æ 6.73	22 ↓	Central pellet on book clear	A	

A1.1–14 This group is characterized by its small size, the absence of ornament above or below the inscription, and by being frequently overstruck. The obverse inscription and parts of the reverse inscription are normally illegible, as are the details of Christ's costume and of the Gospel Book, partly because of the poor preservation of the coins and partly because of their being either overstruck or struck on flans too small for the dies.

Classes A1 and A2 show considerable variation in lettering, notably in the form of the A, which may be A, A, A, A, or A. The precise forms have been noted where legible, since they may have some significance for classification. The abbreviation mark after the words bASILEY' and bASILE' is sometimes a pellet, sometimes omitted altogether. Since this detail seems unimportant, and, owing to the poor state of the coins or careless centering, often cannot be seen at all, I have followed Wroth's example in ignoring its presence, or its form, in the descriptions.

A1.1 Whittemore
W. (John I) 31–6, R. —

A1.2 Schindler 1960

A1.3 Swiss Collection

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*A1.4	Æ	3.99	21	↓		b·ʌ for b ʌ	970–
*A1.5	Æ	3.82	22	↓		ʌ	976(?)
					(b) Overstruck on Nicephorus II		
*A1.6	Æ	9.17	26	↓		A	
*A1.7	Æ	8.54	29	↓		A	
A1.8	Æ	7.06	23	↓		Form of A obscure	
A1.9	Æ	6.67	23	↑		A	
*A1.10	Æ	5.45	25	↓		A	
A1.11	Æ	5.37	23	↑		Form of A obscure	
A1.12	Æ	4.94	26	↙		ʌ	
A1.13	Æ	4.58	23	↗		A	
					(c) Overstruck on Constantine VII and Romanus II		
*A1.14	Æ	6.69	26	↑	Central pellet on book clear	Form of A obscure	
					Class A2		
					Same inscr. and type, but with variations in nimbus cross and Gospel Book	Same inscr., usually with ornament above and beneath	976(?)–*c.*1030/35

A1.4–5 Swiss Collection 1956
These two coins are struck on small irregular flans, so that much of the inscriptions are absent.

A1.6–14 The overstriking on these coins was done very perfunctorily, so that a large part of the inscription and type belong to the earlier impression. The flans were in some cases much cut down before the operation.

A1.6 Schindler 1960
A1.7 Whittemore
A1.8–9 Swiss Collection 1956
A1.10 Schindler 1960
A1.11–12 Swiss Collection 1956
A1.13–14 Schindler 1960

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Var. 1 Nimbus cross with one pellet, book with ▦, inscr. with – ∩∪∩ – above and beneath		976(?)–*c.*1030/35
*A2.1.1	Æ 24.58 pierced	37 ↓		⋔	
A2.1.2	Æ 18.47	35 ↙		⋔	
A2.1.3	Æ 13.01 worn	30 ↓		⋔	
A2.1.4	Æ 10.57 worn	32 ↙		⋔	
			Var. 1a Nimbus cross with one pellet, book with ▦, inscr. with ∞ above and beneath		
*A2.1a	Æ 8.66	27 ↓		⋔	
			Var. 2 Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▦, nothing above or beneath inscr.		
A2.2.1	Æ 16.73	32 ↓		Form of A obscure	

A2.1–50 These differ from Class A1 in being generally much larger in size and by having in the majority of cases varying ornaments in the nimbus cross, on the Gospel Book, and above and beneath the reverse inscription. They are given here in the order of Bellinger's classification (above, pp. 645–7), the numbering being the same. As with Class A1, the inscriptions are rarely entirely legible, but since they show little variation the omission of particular letters is not usually noted.

A2.1.1 Schindler 1960 from Dorotheum 12. x. 54
W. (John I) 8–9, R. 1922

A2.1.2 Whittemore

A2.1.3 Schindler 1960

A2.1.4 Whittemore

A2.1a Schindler 1960
W. —, R. —

A2.2.1 Peirce 1948 from Platt iii. 26
W. —, R. 1920–1

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
A2.2.2	Æ 14.28	31 ↓		A	976(?)–
A2.2.3	Æ 14.18	31 ↓		A	*c*.1030/35
*A2.2.4	Æ 12.03	30 ↓		A	
A2.2.5	Æ 11.15	31 ↙		A	
*A2.2.6	Æ 11.12	29 ↙		A	
A2.2.7	Æ 9.63 worn	29 ↙		Form of A obscure	
			Var. 3 Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with 𐤉, inscr. with pellet beneath		
A2.3.1	Æ 17.78	34 ↓		A	
A2.3.2	Æ 14.95	33 ↙		A	
A2.3.3	Æ 14.93	30 ↓		Form of A obscure	
*A2.3.4	Æ 14.76	33 ↓		Form of A obscure	
A2.3.5	Æ 14.23	32 ↓		A	
A2.3.6	Æ 14.11	33 ↓		Form of A obscure	
*A2.3.7	Æ 13.28	32 ↓		A	
A2.3.8	Æ 13.12	32 ↙		A	
*A2.3.9	Æ 12.83	30 ↓		Form of A obscure	
A2.3.10	Æ 12.72	34 ↙		Form of A obscure	
A2.3.11	Æ 12.45	30 ↓		A	

A2.2.2	Schindler 1960
A2.2.3–4	Swiss Collection 1956
A2.2.5	Schindler 1960
A2.2.6	Swiss Collection 1956 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30, lot 1920
A2.2.7	Schindler 1960
A2.3.1	Swiss Collection 1956 W. —, R. —
A2.3.2	Whittemore
A2.3.3	Peirce 1948 gift of Royall Tyler from Budapest iii. 32
A2.3.4–6	Whittemore
A2.3.7	Swiss Collection
A2.3.8	Peirce 1948 acq. x. 27
A2.3.9	Schindler 1960
A2.3.10	Peirce 1948
A2.3.11	Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*A2.3.12	Æ	9.84	26	↙		A	976(?)–
A2.3.13	Æ	8.72	28	↓		A	*c*.1030/35
					Var. 4 Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with pellet above		
*A2.4	Æ	14.98	31	↓		⍝	
					Var. 5 Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with pellet above and beneath		
*A2.5.1	Æ	16.23	31	↓		Form of A obscure	
*A2.5.2	Æ	15.64	31	↓		Form of A obscure, upper pellet very faint	
A2.5.3	Æ	14.03	33	↓		A	
A2.5.4	Æ	12.46	32	↓		A	
A2.5.5	Æ	12.07	31	↓		A	
A2.5.6	Æ	10.28	30	↘		A	
					Var. 6 Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with – above and beneath		
*A2.6	Æ	11.78	33	↓		A	

A2.3.12	Swiss Collection 1956
A2.3.13	Peirce 1948 from Spink iv. 28
A2.4	Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32 W. —, R. —
A2.5.1	Peirce 1948 W. (John I) 22–24, R. 1931
A2.5.2	Schindler 1960
A2.5.3–4	Whittemore
A2.5.5	Swiss Collection 1956
A2.5.6	Schindler 1960
A2.6	Schindler 1960 W. (John I) 21, R. 1930

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Var. 6a Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with — — above and beneath		976(?)–*c.*1030/35
(A2.6a)	Æ		(Miss Edwards, from Corinth)		
			Var. 7 Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with —·— above and beneath		
*A2.7.1	Æ 19.02	33 ↘	Book obscure	A	
A2.7.2	Æ 11.27 worn	30 ↘		Double struck and obscure	
A2.7.3	Æ 9.21 worn	34 ↘		A	
A2.7.4	Æ 8.40 worn	29 ↓		A	
			Var. 8 Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with ∴ above and beneath		
*A2.8	Æ 14.61	29 ↘	Cross and book obscure	A	

A2.7.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. (John I) 20, R. —
A2.7.2 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.7.3 Whittemore
A2.7.4 Schindler 1960
A2.8 Schindler 1960
W. (John I) 26, R. 1953
Though the details of the nimbus cross and the book are here obscure, they are noted as two pellets and one pellet respectively by Bellinger and are clear on a specimen in the Museum of the ANS.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Var. 9 Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with – ·:· – above and beneath, pear-shaped ornaments outside nimbus		976(?)–*c*.1030/35
*A2.9	Æ 14.26	35 ↙		⍋	
			Var. 10 Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with ⧺(?) above and beneath		
(A2.10)	Æ 14.94	33	(W. [John I] 25)		
			Var. 11 Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with ⧺⧻⧺ above and beneath		
A2.11.1	Æ 17.90	33 ↙		A	
*A2.11.2	Æ 15.60	33 ↓		A	
*A2.11.3	Æ 14.81	34 ↙		A	
*A2.11.4	Æ 14.04	32 ↓		A	

A2.9	Schindler 1960
	W. —, R. 1955
(A2.10)	Probably identical with No. 11; see note above, p. 646.
A2.11.1	Swiss Collection 1956
	W. (John I) —, R. 1936
A2.11.2	Swiss Collection 1956
A2.11.3–4	Schindler 1960

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Var. 12 (and 13)		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with 𝕄, inscr. with – ✱ – above and beneath		976(?)–*c*.1030/35
A2.12.1	Æ 16.36	33 ↘		⅄	
*A2.12.2	Æ 9.90	32 ↘		⅄	
			Var. 14		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with 𝕄, inscr. with – ◇ – above and beneath		
A2.14.1	Æ 19.75	36 ↓		Form of A obscure	
A2.14.2	Æ 18.83	36 ↓		Form of A obscure	
*A2.14.3	Æ 15.06	32 ↘		⅄	
*A2.14.4	Æ 11.22	28 ↓		Form of A obscure	
			Var. 14a		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with 𝕄, inscr. with – ⟐ – above and beneath		
*A2.14a	Æ 17.10	33 ↓		⅄	

A2.12.1 Schindler 1960
W. (John I) 18, R. 1918 (given as ✱)
I have amalgamated Bellinger's 12 (with – ✱ –) and 13 (with – ⁝⁝ –), since they seem to me identical. The strokes connecting the terminal pellets are not always very visible.

A2.12.2 Schindler 1960

A2.14.1 Peirce 1948
W. (John I) 19, R. 1929

A2.14.2–3 Schindler 1960

A2.14.4 Swiss Collection 1956

A2.14a Shaw 1947
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Var. 14b Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with ∞ above and beneath		976(?)–*c*.1030/35
(A2.14b)	Æ	8.52	28	↓	(*BNC*, Pl. LXXX.12)		
					Var. 15 Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with — · A · — above and beneath		
(A2.15)	Æ				(Bellinger 15, from Corinth)		
					Var. 15a Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with — A — above and beneath		
(A2.15a)	Æ				(Miss Edwards, from Corinth)		
					Var. 16 Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with — Λ — above and beneath		
*A2.16.1	Æ	17.94	32	↘		ΛΛ	
A2.16.2	Æ	17.79	34	↓		A	
A2.16.3	Æ	15.60	34	↓		Inscr. blurred by double striking	

A2.16.1 Peirce 1948 from Ciani xi. 25
W. (John I) 13–14, R. —
A2.16.2 Schindler 1960
A2.16.3 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Var. 16a		
					Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with – · Λ · – above and beneath		976(?)–*c.*1030/35
A2.16a.1	Æ	16.84	35	↓		A	
*A2.16a.2	Æ	14.17	32	↘		A	
					Var. 17		
					Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with – h – above and beneath		
*A2.17	Æ	13.82	32	↓		⋔	
					Var. 18		
					Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with – R – above and beneath		
A2.18.1	Æ	14.50	32	↓		⋔	
*A2.18.2	Æ	13.81	34	↘		⋔	
					Var. 19		
					Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with – P – above and beneath		
(A2.19)	Æ				(Bellinger 19, source not given)		

A2.16a.1 Whittemore
W. (John I) 37 (?; see Var. 30 below), R. 1935
A2.16a.2 Schindler 1960
A2.17 Schindler 1960
W. (John I) 15, R. 1926
The sign above the inscription could be an R, but is different from the R of Var. 18, while the one below resembles Λ, which the upper sign certainly is not. The identification of this coin with Bellinger's Var. 17 is consequently not certain.
A2.18.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. (John I) 16–17, R. 1927
A2.18.2 Schindler 1960

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Var. 19a		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with 𐤁𐤉𐤕, inscr. with – ◡ – above and beneath		976(?)–*c*.1030/35
*A2.19a	Æ 19.82	34 ↓		Form of A obscure	
			Var. 20		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with 𐤁𐤉𐤕, inscr. with nothing above, pellet beneath		
*A2.20	Æ 12.32	32 ↓		A	
			Var. 21		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with 𐤁𐤉𐤕, inscr. with – ✱ – above and beneath		
*A2.21	Æ 9.44	27 ↘		A	
			Var. 22		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with 𐤁𐤉𐤕, inscr. with – ◇ – above and beneath		
(A2.22)	Æ		(Bellinger 22, source not given)		
			Var. 23		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with 𐤁𐤉𐤕, inscr. with – ⊙ – above and beneath		
*A2.23.1	Æ 12.36	33 ↓		A	

A2.19a Schindler 1960
W. —, R. —

A2.20 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus 1947
W. —, R. —

A2.21 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. —

A2.23.1 Schindler 1960
W. (John I) 10, R. 1923

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
A2.23.2	Æ 11.91	33 ↓		A	976(?)–
A2.23.3	Æ 11.73	32 ↓		A	*c.*1030/35
			Var. 24		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ⊞, inscr. with ∞ above and beneath		
A2.24.1	Æ 12.64	28 ↙		Λ	
A2.24.2	Æ 12.34	29 ↓		Λ	
*A2.24.3	Æ 11.75	29 ↙		Λ	
A2.24.4	Æ 11.44	29 ↓		Λ	
A2.24.5	Æ 10.91	29 ↘		A	
A2.24.6	Æ 10.67	29 ↓		A	
A2.24.7	Æ 10.62	29 ↓		A	
A2.24.8	Æ 10.35	30 ↘		A	
A2.24.9	Æ 10.33	32 ↓		A	
A2.24.10	Æ 10.27	25 ↘		A	
A2.24.11	Æ 10.27	28 ↘		A	
A2.24.12	Æ 10.25	28 ↙		A	
A2.24.13	Æ 10.11	28 ↘		A	
A2.24.14	Æ 9.53	28 ↙		A	

A2.23.2 Whittemore
A2.23.3 Peirce 1948 from Egger vii. 24
A2.24.1–28 The b's in the reverse inscription have normally the form of a vertical stroke only slightly thickened in its lower part, with no loop at all. Cf. also Var. 41 below.
A2.24.1 Whittemore
W. (John I) 11–12, R. 1924–5
A2.24.2 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.24.3 Schindler 1960
A2.24.4 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.24.5 Whittemore
A2.24.6 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.24.7 Whittemore
A2.24.8 Peirce 1948 gift of Royall Tyler from Budapest vii. 32
A2.24.9 Peirce 1948
A2.24.10 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.24.11 Schindler 1960
A2.24.12 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.24.13 Whittemore
A2.24.14 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
A2.24.15	Æ	9.13	27	↓		A	976(?)–
A2.24.16	Æ	8.82	26	↙		A	*c.*1030/35
A2.24.17	Æ	8.49	27	↓		A	
A2.24.18	Æ	8.39	27	↓		Form of A obscure	
A2.24.19	Æ	8.26	26	↓		A	
A2.24.20	Æ	8.26	27	↙		A	
*A2.24.21	Æ	8.24	27	↓		A	
A2.24.22	Æ	8.11	27	↓		A	
A2.24.23	Æ	7.67	27	↙		A	
A2.24.24	Æ	7.52	27	↓		Form of A obscure	
*A2.24.25	Æ	7.11	25	↙	Three dots in upper arm of cross	A	
A2.24.26	Æ	6.71	24	↘		A	
A2.24.27	Æ	6.66	25	↓		A	
A2.24.28	Æ	4.18	18	↘		A	

A2.24.15 Whittemore
A2.24.16 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.24.17 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.24.18 Peirce 1948 from Egger
A2.24.19 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.24.20 Peirce 1948 from Ciani x. 25
A2.24.21–3 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.24.24 Whittemore
A2.24.25 Whittemore
The three dots in the upper arm of the cross probably result from a die-sinker's error, and are not enough to make this a separate group. The coin may be a contemporary imitation, despite the good style of the bust, since the letters on the reverse are badly formed and those on the obverse barely present at all.
A2.24.26 Schindler 1960
A2.24.27 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.24.28 Whittemore
This has been cut down to the form of a kind of medallion showing only the nimbus and head of Christ.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Var. 24a		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book ornament obscure, inscr. with ⟁ above and ⟁ beneath		976(?)–*c.*1030/35
*A2.24a.1	Æ 15.12	30 ↙		A	
A2.24a.2	Æ 11.38	25 ↓		A	
A2.24a.3	Æ 9.40	26 ↘		A	
*A2.24a.4	Æ 8.66	27 ↓		A	
			Var. 24b		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▦, inscr. with pellet above and beneath		
*A2.24b	Æ 16.90	32 ↙		Form of A obscure. Pellet above inscr. illegible	
			Var. 25		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ⊠, inscr. with — ·⁝· — above and beneath		
*A2.25.1	Æ 22.10	35 ↓		A	
*A2.25.2	Æ 14.42	31 ↓		Form of A obscure	
A2.25.3	Æ 12.40	33 ↓		Form of A obscure	

A2.24a The book has an outer border of pellets, but the interior ornament cannot be made out on any of these specimens. On A2.24a.1 it seems to be four pellets around a cross, but this does not correspond to anything used elsewhere. On the other coins it is completely obscure.

A2.24a.1 Schindler 1960
W. —, R. —

A2.24a.2–3 Schindler 1960

A2.24a.4 Swiss Collection 1956

A2.24b Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. —

A2.25.1 Schindler 1960
W. (John I) 27–28, R. 1933

A2.25.2 Schindler 1960

A2.25.3 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Var. 26		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ⊠, inscr. with • ·:· • above and beneath		976(?)–*c.*1030/35
*A2.26.1	Æ 19.29	33 ↓		Λ	
A2.26.2	Æ 17.95	33 ↓		⅄ (?)	
A2.26.3	Æ 17.70	33 ↓		Form of A obscure	
A2.26.4	Æ 15.58	35 ↓		⅄ (?)	
A2.26.5	Æ 13.39	36 ↓		⅄	
*A2.26.6	Æ 12.90	32 ↓		⅄	
			Var. 27 (and 28)		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ⊠, inscr. with • ·:· • above and beneath		
A2.27.1	Æ 18.50	33 ↓		Form of A obscure	
*A2.27.2	Æ 15.34	32 ↘		⅄	
			Var. 29		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ⊠, inscr. with — ◇ above and beneath		
(A2.29)			(Bellinger 29, source not given)		

A2.26.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. (John I) 29–30, R. 1934
A2.26.2 Schindler 1960
A2.26.3 Peirce 1948 acq. Boston 10. vi. 39
A2.26.4 Peirce 1948
A2.26.5 Schindler 1960
A2.26.6 Peirce 1948 from Platt iii. 24
A2.27 I have suppressed Bellinger's No. 28, with • ·:· • above the reverse inscription, since it is probably no more than a badly designed version of his No. 27.
A2.27.1 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vii. 28
W. —, R. —
A2.27.2 Schindler 1960

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Var. 30		
			Nimbus cross with three pellets, book with 𐤉𐤉, inscr. with ⁃ • ⌒ • ⁃ above and beneath		976(?)–*c.*1030/35
(A2.30)	Æ 19.39	34	(W. [John I] 37)		
			Var. 31		
			Nimbus cross with ✠, book with 𐤉𐤉, inscr. with • ↑ • above and beneath		
*A2.31.1	Æ 17.11	33 ↓		A	
A2.31.2	Æ 13.96	34 ↙		A	
			Var. 32		
			Nimbus cross with ✠, book with ✠, inscr. with ✠ above and beneath		
*A2.32.1	Æ 13.00	32 ↓		⚙	
A2.32.2	Æ 12.90	30 ↓		⚙	
A2.32.3	Æ 11.08	29 ↓		⚙	
A2.32.4	Æ 10.87	29 ↓		⚙	
A2.32.5	Æ 10.39	29 ↓		⚙	
A2.32.6	Æ 10.23	31 ↘		⚙	
A2.32.7	Æ 9.83	30 ↙		⚙	
A2.32.8	Æ 9.20	29 ↘		⚙	
A2.32.9	Æ 8.54	28 ↘		⚙	

(A2.30) This variety may be identical with 15a, the three pellets on the cross being a die-sinker's error.

A2.31.1 Schindler 1960
W. (Basil II) 21, R. 1951

A2.31.2 Schindler 1960

A2.32.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. (Basil II) 22–23, R. 1952

A2.32.2–3 Swiss Collection 1956

A2.32.4 Peirce 1948 gift of Royall Tyler from Budapest vii. 32

A2.32.5–6 Schindler 1960

A2.32.7 Swiss Collection 1960

A2.32.8 Schindler 1960

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*A2.32.10	Æ	7.75	26	↓		⋔	976(?)–
A2.32.11	Æ	7.09	28	↓		⋔	*c.*1030/35
					Var. 32a Nimbus cross with ✠, book ornament obscure, inscr. with – ⊕ – above and beneath		
*A2.32a	Æ	6.26	27	↙		⋒ and ⋔ Upper ornament off flan	
					Var. 33 Nimbus cross with ∴, book with ▥, inscr. with ∞ above and beneath		
(A2.33)					(Bellinger 33, source not stated)		
					Var. 33a Nimbus cross with ∴, book with ▥, ornament with • Φ • above and beneath		
(A2.33a)	Æ	18.00	27		(*BNC*, II. 598, No. 64)		
					Var. 34 Nimbus cross with ∴, book ornament uncertain, inscr. with – ✱ – above and beneath		
(A2.34)	Æ				(Bellinger 34, from Corinth)		

A2.32.9–11 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.32a Whittemore
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Var. 35		
			Nimbus cross with ∴, book with ▥, inscr. with — ◇ — above and beneath		976(?)–*c.*1030/35
(A2.35)	Æ		(Bellinger 35, source not stated)		
			Var. 36 (and 37)		
			Nimbus cross with ∴, book with ▥, inscr. with — Γ — above and beneath		
*A2.36.1	Æ 16.41	35 ↓		Form of A obscure	
*A2.36.2	Æ 15.04	34 ↓		Form of A obscure	
A2.36.3	Æ 14.39	33 ↓		A	
			Var. 38		
			Nimbus cross with ∴, book ornament uncertain, inscr. with — › X ‹ — above and beneath		
(A2.38)	Æ		(Bellinger 38, source not stated)		
			Var. 39		
			Nimbus cross with ∴, book with ▥, inscr. with ⌒ above and ⌣ beneath		
A2.39.1	Æ 11.58	28 ↓	Head of Christ very large	A	

A2.36 Bellinger's Var. 37, with — ∘ — above and — Γ — beneath the inscription does not exist, the upper — Γ — having been misread as — ∘ —.

A2.36.1 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vi. 29
W. —, R. —

A2.36.2–3 Schindler 1960

A2.39.1 Peirce 1948
W. (Basil II) 26–29, R. 1956–7

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
A2.39.2	Æ	10.90	29	↓		A	976(?)–
A2.39.3	Æ	10.31	29	↓		A	*c.*1030/35
*A2.39.4	Æ	10.08	28	↓		A	
A2.39.5	Æ	8.74	26	↘		A	
*A2.39.6	Æ	8.11	27	↓		A	
					Var. 40 Nimbus cross with ∴, book with ∴, inscr. with above and beneath		
A2.40.1	Æ	19.90	33	↓		A	
A2.40.2	Æ	13.59	31	↓		A	
A2.40.3	Æ	13.39	28	↙		A	
A2.40.4	Æ	13.31	34	↓		A	
A2.40.5	Æ	12.72	28	↓		A	
A2.40.6	Æ	12.25	28	↓		A	
*A2.40.7	Æ	11.98	29	↓		A	
A2.40.8	Æ	11.69	29	↓		A	
A2.40.9	Æ	11.41	28	↓	Book obscure	A	
A2.40.10	Æ	10.68	28	↓		A	
A2.40.11	Æ	9.77	28	↙		A	
A2.40.12	Æ	9.63	28	↙	Book obscure	A	

A2.39.2 Schindler 1960
A2.39.3 Peirce 1948 acq. xi. 25
A2.39.4 Peirce 1948 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30, lot 1957
A2.39.5 Whittemore
A2.39.6 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.40–40b Bellinger's No. 40 has been divided according to the form of the central element (pellet or square jewel) of the ornament (∴ or ∴) in the cross or book.
A2.40.1 Peirce 1948
W. (Basil II) 30–35, R. 1958–60
A2.40.2 Schindler 1960
A2.40.3 Peirce 1948
A2.40.4–5 Whittemore
A2.40.6 Peirce 1948 gift from Royall Tyler from Budapest vii. 32
A2.40.7 Schindler 1960
A2.40.8–9 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.40.10 Whittemore
A2.40.11 Whittemore
A2.40.12 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
A2.40.13	Æ 9.51	31 ↓		⚜	976(?)–
A2.40.14	Æ 8.79	25 ↓		A	*c*.1030/35
A2.40.15	Æ 8.71	27 ↓	Book obscure	⚜	
A2.40.16	Æ 8.23	28 ↓		⚜	
A2.40.17	Æ 8.16	26 ↘		⚜	
*A2.40.18	Æ 8.06	27 ↘		⚜	
A2.40.19	Æ 7.39	29 ↓	Book obscure	⚜	
A2.40.20	Æ 7.35	28 ↓		⚜	
A2.40.21	Æ 7.30	25 ↓		⚜	
A2.40.22	Æ 7.13	25 ↓	Book obscure	⚜	
	very worn				
A2.40.23	Æ 6.27	28 ↓		⚜	
			Var. 40a		
			Nimbus cross with ⁘, book with ▦, inscr. with ⚜ above and ⚜ beneath		
*A2.40a.1	Æ 16.50	33 ↓		⚜	
*A2.40a.2	Æ 16.18	33 ↓		⚜	
A2.40a.3	Æ 12.98	30 ↓		⚜	
A2.40a.4	Æ 11.30	30 ↓		⚜	
A2.40a.5	Æ 8.58	25 ↓		⚜	

A2.40.13 Peirce 1948
A2.40.14 Peirce 1948 gift of Royall Tyler from Budapest vii. 32
A2.40.15–17 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.40.18 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vii. 28
A2.40.19–20 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.40.21–2 Whittemore
A2.40.23 Schindler 1960
A2.40a.1 Peirce 1948
W. (Basil I) 32, R. —
A2.40a.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28
A2.40a.3 Schindler 1960
A2.40a.4 Peirce 1948
A2.40a.5 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Var. 40b		
					Nimbus cross with ⁝▪⁝, book with ⊠, inscr. with ⁂ above and ⁂ beneath		976(?)–*c*.1030/35
*A2.40b.1	Æ	11.86	28	↓		⍝	
*A2.40b.2	Æ	10.47	28	↓		⍝	
A2.40b.3	Æ	6.32	25	↓		⍝	
					Var. 41		
					Nimbus cross with ⁜, book with ⁂, inscr. with — ◇ — above and beneath		
A2.41.1	Æ	13.01	30	↓		⍝	
A2.41.2	Æ	12.33	28	↓		A	
A2.41.3	Æ	11.86	29	↘		A	
*A2.41.4	Æ	11.63	30	↘		⍝	
*A2.41.5	Æ	11.52	30	↘		⍝	
A2.41.6	Æ	11.31	30	↓		⍝	
A2.41.7	Æ	11.05	27	↓		⍝	
A2.41.8	Æ	11.00	27	↘		Form of A obscure	
A2.41.9	Æ	10.92	30	↓		A	
A2.41.10	Æ	10.74	28	↓		⍝	
A2.41.11	Æ	10.56	28	↘		⍝	

A2.40b.1 Schindler 1960
W. (Basil II) —, R. —
A2.40b.2 Whittemore
A2.50b.3 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.41 The b (of bASILEY' bASILE') in this group usually approximates the form of a vertical stroke thickened in its lower part, as with Var. 24.
A2.41.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. (Basil II) 38–40, R. 1964–5
A2.41.2 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.41.3 Whittemore
A2.41.4 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1. vii. 28
A2.41.5–6 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.41.7–8 Schindler 1960
A2.41.9–11 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
A2.41.12	Æ	10.55	27	↙	Letters blundered (+Є+NNO O IMI)	Letters blundered; last line reads bAILЄ	976(?)–*c*.1030/35
A2.41.13	Æ	10.18	28	↓		A	
A2.41.14	Æ	10.17	27	↘		Ⱥ; +IhSЧ ‖ XRISƬЧ (without terminal S's)	
A2.41.15	Æ	10.00	27	↘		A	
A2.41.16	Æ	9.99	27	↘		Ⱥ	
A2.41.17	Æ	9.41	30	↘		Ⱥ	
A2.41.18	Æ	9.31	28	↘		Ⱥ	
A2.41.19	Æ	8.82	28	↓		Ⱥ	
A2.41.20	Æ	8.75	26	↙		Ⱥ	
A2.41.21	Æ	8.71	26	↓		Ⱥ	
A2.41.22	Æ	8.67	29	↓		Ⱥ	
A2.41.23	Æ	8.63	28	↓		Ⱥ	
A2.41.24	Æ	8.13	27	↘		Form of A obscure	
A2.41.25	Æ	6.86	25	↓		A	
A2.41.26	Æ	6.07	25	↘		A	
					Var. 42 Nimbus cross with ⋇, book ornament uncertain, inscr. with – A – above and beneath		
(A2.42)	Æ				(Bellinger 42, source not stated)		

A2.41.12 Whittemore
The style of this coin is good, but the letters are so badly formed that it can scarcely be the product of a regular mint.
A2.41.13 Schindler 1960
A2.41.14 Whittemore
A2.41.15 Peirce 1948 from Platt x. 28
A2.41.16 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.41.17 Peirce 1948
A2.41.18 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.41.19 Whittemore
A2.41.20–1 Schindler 1960
A2.41.22–6 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Var. 42a		
			Nimbus cross with ⋇, book with ⋇, inscr. with ∞ above and beneath		976(?)–*c*.1030/35
*A2.42a	Æ 10.10	27 ↓	+CIIOΔ NOVHΛ	A	
			Var. 42b		
			Nimbus cross with ⋇, book with ⋇, inscr. with – Φ – above and beneath		
(A2.42b)			(ANS)		
			Var. 43		
			Nimbus cross with ⋊, book with ⊞, inscr. with – C – above (?) and beneath		
A2.43.1	Æ 12.03	31 ↓		⋔	
*A2.43.2	Æ 11.39	28 ↓		⋔	
A2.43.3	Æ 10.82	29 ↓		⋔	
A2.43.4	Æ 10.55	28 ↓		⋔	
A2.43.5	Æ 10.11	26 ↘		⋔	
*A2.43.6	Æ 9.19	30 ↓		⋔	
			Var. 44		
			(Omitted; probably identical with Var. 47)		

A2.42a Whittemore
W. —, R. —
Despite the blundering of ЄMMA on the obverse, this has every appearence of being a regular coin. The metal seems from its color to be brass rather than copper.

A2.43.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. (Basil II) 37, R. 1962

A2.43.2 Schindler 1960

A2.43.3 Whittemore

A2.43.4 Schindler 1960

A2.43.5 Whittemore

A2.43.6 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Var. 45		
			Nimbus cross with crescent, book with ∴, inscr. with ⊕ above and beneath		976(?)–*c.*1030/35
A2.45.1	Æ 15.39	32 ↙		⊕	
*A2.45.2	Æ 13.80	30 ↓		⊕	
A2.45.3	Æ 11.15	32 ↙		⊕	
A2.45.4	Æ 10.59	31 ↓		⊕	
*A2.45.5	Æ 10.23	30 ↓		⊕	
A2.45.6	Æ 9.30	29 ↘		⊕	
A2.45.7	Æ 8.11	29 ↓		⊕	
A2.45.8	Æ 6.85	27 ↓		⊕	
	very worn				
			Var. 46		
(A2.46)	Æ 9.43	29	(Probably identical with Var. 45)		
			Var. 47		
			Nimbus cross with □, book with ∴, inscr. with □ above and beneath		
A2.47.1	Æ 18.01	34 ↓		⊕	
A2.47.2	Æ 15.68	31 ↘		⊕	

A2.45.1 Schindler 1960
W. (ConstantineVIII) 10–11, R. —
A2.45.2 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.45.3 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.45.4 Peirce 1948 acq. x. 27
A2.45.5 Peirce 1948 acq. 11. vi. 26
A2.45.6 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.45.7 Schindler 1960
A2.45.8 Swiss Collection 1956
(A2.46) W. (Constantine VIII) 12–13, R. 1961
A2.47.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. (Romanus III) 4–6, R. 1974
A2.47.2 Schindler 1960

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
A2.47.3	Æ 13.29	29 ↙		⚙	976(?)–
A2.47.4	Æ 12.92	30 ↓		Form of A obscure	*c.*1030/35
A2.47.5	Æ 12.78	32 ↘		⚙	
A2.47.6	Æ 12.24	30 ↓		⚙	
A2.47.7	Æ 12.17	28 ↓		⚙	
*A2.47.8	Æ 11.65	31 ↓		⚙	
A2.47.9	Æ 11.57	27 ↓		⚙	
A2.47.10	Æ 11.44	28 ↓		⚙	
*A2.47.11	Æ 11.13	29 ↓		⚙	
A2.47.12	Æ 11.10	28 ↓		⚙	
A2.47.13	Æ 10.88	28 ↓		⚙	
A2.47.14	Æ 10.48	26 ↓		⚙	
A2.47.15	Æ 10.41	30 ↘		⚙	
A2.47.16	Æ 9.91	29 ↓		⚙	
A2.47.17	Æ 9.90	29 ↓		⚙	
A2.47.18	Æ 9.77	27 ↓		Form of A obscure	
	worn				
A2.47.19	Æ 9.39	29 ↙		⚙	
A2.47.20	Æ 9.28	28 ↙		⚙	
A2.47.21	Æ 8.93	26 ↙		⚙	
A2.47.22	Æ 8.13	27 ↓		⚙	
A2.47.23	Æ 7.93	25 ↓		⚙	

A2.47.3–4	Swiss Collection 1956
A2.47.5	Peirce 1948 acq. x. 27
A2.47.6	Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
A2.47.7	Swiss Collection 1956
A2.47.8–9	Schindler 1960
A2.47.10–12	Swiss Collection 1956
A2.47.13	Peirce 1948 acq. 11. vi. 26
A2.47.14	Swiss Collection 1956
A2.47.15	Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
A2.47.16	Whittemore
A2.47.17–19	Swiss Collection 1956
A2.47.20	Schindler 1960
A2.47.21	Swiss Collection 1956
A2.47.22	Schindler 1960
A2.47.23	Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Var. 48		
			Nimbus cross with ⁝▪⁝ in upright limb and two pellets in lateral limbs, book with ▥, inscr. with — ⁝·⁝ — above and beneath		976(?)–*c*.1030/35
A2.48.1	Æ 19.34	34 ↓		Form of A obscure	
*A2.48.2	Æ 17.93	33 ↓		A	
A2.48.3	Æ 16.18	31 ↓		Form of A obscure	
A2.48.4	Æ 14.30 worn	33 ↓		Form of A obscure	
			Var. 49		
			As Var. 48, but with pellet to l. and r. of upright limb of nimbus cross		
A2.49.1	Æ 15.06	32 ↓		Form of A obscure	
*A2.49.2	Æ 13.75	34 ↓		⋀	
A2.49.3	Æ 12.52	32 ↓		⋀	
			Var. 50		
			Nimbus cross with crescent in upright limb and two pellets in lateral limbs, book with ▥, inscr. with — ∽ — above and beneath		
A2.50.1	Æ 17.22	34 ↓		Form of A obscure	

A2.48 Bellinger gives the ornament in the upright limb of the cross as ⁝·⁝, but the corner pellets are normally joined to the central one, which is square in shape.

A2.48.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. —

A2.48.2 Schindler 1960
The central pellet of the ornament in the upright limb of the cross is perhaps circular, not square.

A2.48.3–4 Swiss Collection 1956

A2.49.1 Schindler 1960
W. (Basil II) 24–25, R. 1954

A2.49.2 Schindler 1960

A2.49.3 Whittemore

A2.50.1 Schindler 1960
W. —, R. 1963

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
A2.50.2	Æ 16.61	32 ↙		Form of A obscure	976(?)–
*A2.50.3	Æ 15.79	35 ↓		Form of A obscure	*c.*1030/35
A2.50.4	Æ 15.06	31 ↘		Form of A obscure	
*A2.50.5	Æ 13.34 pierced	31 ↙		⋀	
			Var. 51		
			Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ▥, inscr. with – + – above and beneath		
(A2.51)	Æ		(Bellinger 51, from Corinth)		
			Contemporary Imitations		
			Same inscr. (blundered) and type, with varying ornaments	Same inscr. (blundered), with varying ornaments	
*A2.52.1	Æ 11.45	28 ↘	∈ И Ч[ ]M Nimbus cross with ∴, book obscure	+IhSIs‖hRIITЧ‖ bASILЄ‖bAILЄ, with ⋎⋏⋎ ornaments	

A2.50.2 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.50.3 Schindler 1960
A2.50.4 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.50.5 Peirce 1948 from Ciani xi. 25
(A2.51) Bellinger gives the ornaments on the cross and book as uncertain, but Miss Edwards, who had subsequently discovered material to work with, gives them as two pellets and one pellet respectively.
A2.52 Contemporary counterfeits have not generally been included in this Catalogue, save occasionally in footnotes, but it seems desirable to publish such imitations of Class A as are available at Dumbarton Oaks, since they evidently formed an important element, if possibly a localized one, in the circulating medium. Bellinger has published a plate of contemporary imitations, and Gerassimov has recorded the finding of an entire hoard of counterfeits in Bulgaria ("Fausses monnaies antiques de l'empereur byzantin Jean Zimisces," *Bull. de l'Institut archéologique bulgare*, 17 [1950], 313–15). There is no hard and fast way of distinguishing between the categories of regular issues and imitations; blundered inscriptions, defective letter forms, and mixtures of ornaments or types are the only real criteria. Some imitations may well have been included in the regular issues catalogued above, e.g., A2.41.12.
A2.52.1 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*A2.52.2	Æ	8.76	24	↓	Inscr. illegible. Nimbus cross with ∴, book obscure	Inscr. retrograde and blundered, ornaments off flan	976(?)–*c*.1030/35
*A2.52.3	Æ	8.20	24	↓	XEMMA NOVHA Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ⁘	Inscr. correct but lettering crude, – ◇ – [above and] beneath	
A2.52.4	Æ	7.76	25	↓	Inscr. illegible. Nimbus cross with ✳, book obscure	Inscr. correct but lettering crude, – ∴ – [above and] beneath	
*A2.52.5	Æ	7.54	25	↓	]NNV [Nimbus cross with two pellets, book with ⊞	Inscr. correct, ornaments off flan	
*A2.52.6	Æ	6.22	24	↑	Inscr. off flan. Nimbus cross with ∴, book obscure	Inscr. correct but lettering crude, ⌒ above [and ⌒ beneath]	

A2.52.2–4 Swiss Collection 1956
A2.52.5 Whittemore
A2.52.6 Swiss Collection

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class B		
			+EMMA NOVHA Bust of Christ (Type VIIb) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having ☐ in each arm and pellet in each upper quarter, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book, with ⁝⁝ on cover, from beneath. In field, IC XC	IS XS bAS ILE bAS ILE Cross on base and two steps, pellet at each end of upper arms	*c.*1030/35–1042(?)
B.1	Æ 18.04	32 ↙			
B.2	Æ 17.70	35 ↓			
B.3	Æ 17.07	33 ↓		Overstruck on rev. of Class A2.1	
B.4	Æ 16.53	30 ↓			
B.5	Æ 16.38	30 ↙			
B.6	Æ 16.11	34 ↙			

B.1–44 The obverse type of Class B is identical with that of Class A, the ⁝⁝ on the Gospel Book being found on several varieties of this. Its ornaments represent a fusion of those of Varieties 47 (⁝⁝ on book, ☐ in cross) and 49 (pellets in upper quarters of cross). The obverse inscription is rarely legible in its entirety, but details have not been noted since it seems to be invariable. The fact of overstriking has been noted in whichever column (obv. or rev.) there shows the clearer impression of the earlier type. The b's in the reverse inscription have the form of an upright stroke thickened in its lower part, with scarcely any loop visible, as had been the case with some varieties of Class A2.

B.1 Whittemore
W. (Michael IV) 6–15, R. 1977–81

B.2 Whittemore

B.3 Swiss Collection 1956

B.4 Schindler 1960

B.5 Peirce 1948 acq. vi. 26

B.6–7 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
B.7	Æ	15.71	34	↓			*c*.1030/35–1042(?)
*B.8	Æ	14.62	30	↓			
B.9	Æ	13.28	30	↘	Overstruck on rev. of Class A2		
B.10	Æ	13.13	28	↓			
B.11	Æ	12.91	30	↓			
B.12	Æ	12.87	30	↓			
B.13	Æ	12.73	32	↙			
B.14	Æ	12.60	30	↓			
B.15	Æ	12.50	30	↓			
B.16	Æ	12.48	28	↓			
B.17	Æ	12.47	32	↘			
B.18	Æ	12.42	31	↓			
B.19	Æ	12.41	30	↓	Double struck		
B.20	Æ	11.97	30	↘			
B.21	Æ	11.93	35	↓			
B.22	Æ	11.91	29	↓			
B.23	Æ	11.91	28	↓			
B.24	Æ	11.64	29	↓			
B.25	Æ	11.50	32	↓			
B.26	Æ	11.26	31	↓			
B.27	Æ	11.25	32	↙		Overstruck on Class A2	
B.28	Æ	11.19	29	↓			

B.8 Peirce 1948 acq. x. 27
B.9–10 Schindler 1960
B.11–12 Whittemore
B.13 Peirce 1948 from Fejer
B.14–15 Whittemore
B.16 Schindler 1960
B.17 Peirce 1948 acq. vi. 26
B.18 Peirce 1948
B.19 Peirce 1948 acq. iii. 26
B.20 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
B.21–22 Whittemore
B.23 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
B.24–25 Whittemore
B.26 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
B.27 Whittemore
B.28 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
B.29	Æ	11.15	27	↘			*c.*1030/35–1042(?)
B.30	Æ	11.05	27	↙			
B.31	Æ	10.98	28	↓			
B.32	Æ	10.94	31	↓	Overstruck on Class A2.41		
B.33	Æ	10.82	29	↓			
B.34	Æ	10.81	27	↓			
B.35	Æ	10.77	29	↓			
B.36	Æ	10.75	28	↓			
B.37	Æ	10.54	30	↓			
B.38	Æ	10.49	30	↘		Overstruck on Class A2	
B.39	Æ	10.34	30	↓			
*B.40	Æ	10.28	30	↙			
B.41	Æ	10.21	30	↘			
B.42	Æ	10.19	31	↓		Overstruck on Class A2	
B.43	Æ	10.08	29	↓			
B.44	Æ	10.07	29	↓			
B.45	Æ	10.00	31	↓		Overstruck on Class A	
B.46	Æ	9.95	29	↓			
B.47	Æ	9.93	29	↓			
B.48	Æ	9.86	28	↙			

B.29 Peirce 1948 gift of Royall Tyler from Budapest vii. 32
B.30 Peirce 1948
B.31 Whittemore
B.32 Schindler 1960
B.33 Whittemore
B.34 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
B.35–36 Whittemore
B.37 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. xii. 30
B.38–40 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
B.41 Schindler 1960
B.42–43 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
B.44 Peirce 1948 from Spink vi. 28
B.45 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
B.46 Schindler 1960
B.47 Peirce 1948 gift of Royall Tyler from Budapest vii. 32
B.48 Peirce 1948 acq. vi. 26

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
B.49	Æ 9.60	27 ↓			*c.*1030/35–1042(?)
B.50	Æ 9.58	28 ↙			
B.51	Æ 9.54	29 ↓			
B.52	Æ 9.45	29 ↙			
B.53	Æ 9.34	30 ↓		Overstruck on Class A	
B.54	Æ 9.11	33 ↓			
B.55	Æ 9.10	29 ↓			
B.56	Æ 8.51	28 ↓			
B.57	Æ 8.49	30 ↓		Overstruck on Class A	
B.58	Æ 7.99	25 ↓			
B.59	Æ 7.49	29 ↓			
B.60	Æ 6.74 pierced	31 ↓			
B.61	Æ 6.62 flan much cut down	24 ↓			
B.62	Æ 6.15	29 ↓			
B.63	Æ 5.13	27 ↓	Very thin flan	Overstruck on Class A	
*B.64	Æ 7.82 very worn	30 ↓	Countermarked الله		

B.49 Whittemore
B.50 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vi. 29
B.51 Schindler 1960
B.52 Peirce 1948 from Spink vi. 29
B.53 Whittemore
B.54 Peirce 1948 acq. vi. 26
B.55–57 Whittemore
B.58 Schindler 1960
B.59–62 Whittemore
B.63 Schindler 1960
B.64 Schindler 1960 from Weidling 21. vii. 53

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Eleventh Century Imitations		
					(a) With normal ornaments		*c.*1090
*Ba	Æ	9.14	25	↓	Inscr. illegible. X to l., C to r.	[ ]||IΛS III||IΛS II[	
					(b) With no obv. inscr. and ∴ in the nimbus cross, details of book illegible		
*Bb.1	Æ	9.87	25	↓	IC̄ to l., X̄C̄ illegible. Overstruck on rev. of Class H, with l. part of patriarchal cross and floral ornament visible	[ ]||IAΣ I[ ]||IAΣ IL[Part of nimbus and head of Christ, and IC̄ and ornament on book, visible from obv. of Class H	
*Bb.2	Æ	6.73	28	↓	IC̄ X[Overstruck on Class G, of which the border of large pellets is visible to r.	[ ]||'AΣ II∈||'AΣ II∈ Nimbus of Virgin from Class G visible above	
*Bb.3	Æ	5.85	25	↑	IC̄ off flan, X̄C̄ with pellet above to r. Overstruck on rev. of Class K, with half-length figure of the Virgin with raised hands just visible	IΣ XI||IAΣ [ ]||'AΣ [ ] Right side of bust of Christ, with IC̄ and pellet border, visible (inverted) to r.	

Ba Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. —
The blundering of the inscription and the crude style of both the design and lettering condemn this as a forgery.

Bb.1–5 This group of imitations is very strange. The coins are all alike in having no obverse inscriptions other than IC̄ X̄C̄, nimbus ornaments ∴ instead of ☐, and several regularly recurring errors on the reverse (b either reduced to I or ′ or dropped entirely, Σ for S, I for L). One is overstruck on Class H and two on Class K, so they are evidently much later in date than the original issue of Class B. Two, Bb.1 and Bb.2, are clearly the work of a single die-sinker of some artistic competence, while the dies for Bb.5 were made by someone with no competence at all. The existence of so many specimens may suggest that a variety of Class B having ∴ in the nimbus cross may have been briefly struck in a regular mint, but even the best of the specimens here (Bb.4) seems to me an imitation. Since the series is clearly deserving of study the coins, although imitations, have been included here.

Bb.1 Peirce 1948 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30, lot 1984
W. —, R. 1982–4

Bb.2–3 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
Bb.4	Æ 5.09	25 ↓	X visible to r.	[ ]‖AΣ II[ ]‖AΣ II[ ] Traces of illegible overstriking above	*c.*1090
*Bb.5	Æ 3.16	25 ↓	]C̄ to l., X̄C̄ illegible. Overstruck on rev. of Class K, of which the large pellets of the border are visible bottom r.	]Σ XC‖[ ]AΣ II∈‖[ ]AΣ II∈	
			Class C		
			+ЄMMA NOVHΛ Three-quarter-length figure of Christ Antiphonetes (Type IVc) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in front of body; l. holds book with ▦ on cover (usually obscure). In field, IC̄ X̄C̄	IC̄ X̄C̄ NI KA in angles of jeweled cross with pellet at end of each arm	1042(?)–*c.*1050
C.1	Æ 13.05	33 ↓		N̄I K̄Ā	
*C.2	Æ 12.52 pierced	33 ↓		N̄I K̄Ā	

Bb.4–5 Swiss Collection 1956

C.1–47 The obverse type represents the icon of Christ Antiphonetes, to which the Empress Zoe was particularly devoted and whose employment as a coin type permits its dating. A number of specimens have an uncalled-for abbreviation mark above NI KA. The number of pellets in the central panel of the book is sometimes three, not two, but this detail is usually obscure.

C.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. (Theodora) 6–16, R. 1998–2000

C.2 Schindler 1960

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
C.3	Æ	12.31	34	↓		$\overline{\text{NI}}$ $\overline{\text{KA}}$	1042(?)–
C.4	Æ	12.19	33	↓	Overstruck on Class A2	$\overline{\text{NI}}$ $\overline{\text{KA}}$	*c.*1050
C.5	Æ	11.94	33	↓	Overstruck on Class B		
C.6	Æ	11.69	33	↓	Overstruck on Class A2	$\overline{\text{NI}}$ $\overline{\text{KA}}$	
C.7	Æ	11.23	32	↓		$\overline{\text{NI}}$ $\overline{\text{KA}}$	
C.8	Æ	10.86	31	↓	Overstruck on Class A2 or B		
*C.9	Æ	10.74	31	↙	3 pellets in book		
C.10	Æ	10.49	29	↓	Overstruck on Class A2		
C.11	Æ	10.46	32	↓	Overstruck on Class B		
C.12	Æ	10.22	27	↓	Overstruck on Class B		
C.13	Æ	10.08	26	↓		$\overline{\text{NI}}$ $\overline{\text{KA}}$	
C.14	Æ	10.07	31	↓	Overstruck on Class B		
C.15	Æ	10.03	31	↓	Overstruck on Class B		
*C.16	Æ	9.96	30	↓			
C.17	Æ	9.95	29	↓		$\overline{\text{NI}}$ $\overline{\text{KA}}$	
C.18	Æ	9.86	28	↓	Overstruck on Class B		
C.19	Æ	9.65	28	↓			

C.3–5 Whittemore
C.6 Swiss Collection 1956
C.7 Whittemore
C.8 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28
C.9 Peirce 1948 from Ciani 15. i. 24
C.10 Whittemore
C.11 Swiss Collection 1956
C.12 Schindler 1960
C.13–14 Whittemore
C.15–16 Swiss Collection 1956
C.17 Whittemore
C.18 Schindler 1960
C.19 Peirce 1948 acq. vi. 26

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
C.20	Æ	9.23	28	↓			1042(?)–
C.21	Æ	9.19	28	↓			*c.*1050
C.22	Æ	9.18	30	↙			
C.23	Æ	9.13	30	↘			
C.24	Æ	9.09	27	↓			
C.25	Æ	9.06	30	↓			
*C.26	Æ	9.03	31	↓		$\overline{\text{NI}}$ $\overline{\text{KA}}$	
C.27	Æ	8.88	30	↓	Overstruck on Class A2		
C.28	Æ	8.66	27	↓			
*C.29	Æ	8.60	28	↓		$\overline{\text{NI}}$ $\overline{\text{KA}}$	
C.30	Æ	8.57	28	↙			
C.31	Æ	8.57	28	↘	Overstruck on Class B		
C.32	Æ	8.14	28	↓	Overstruck on Class B		
C.33	Æ	8.07	28	↓			
C.34	Æ	7.85	29	↓	3 pellets in book		
C.35	Æ	7.80	29	↓			
C.36	Æ	7.71	30	↓			
C.37	Æ	7.55	29	↓			
C.38	Æ	7.30	30	↓			
*C.39	Æ	7.06	28	↓	Overstruck on Class B		

C.20 Whittemore
C.21–24 Whittemore
C.25 Peirce 1948 from Raymond
C.26–27 Whittemore
C.28 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28
C.29 Peirce 1948 from Boston 10. vi. 39
C.30–31 Whittemore
C.32 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln via Schulman vi. 32
C.33 Whittemore
C.34 Peirce 1948
C.35 Whittemore
C.36 Schindler 1960
C.37–38 Whittemore
C.39 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vi. 29

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
C.40	Æ 7.06	30 ↓		Overstruck on Class B	1042(?)–*c*.1050
C.41	Æ 6.83	28 ↓	Overstruck on Class A or B		
C.42	Æ 6.51	28 ↓		$\overline{\text{NI}}$ $\overline{\text{KA}}$	
C.43	Æ 6.45	29 ↓	Overstruck on Class B		
C.44	Æ 6.13	30 ↓			
C.45	Æ 5.91	32 ↓	Overstruck on Class A or B		
*C.46	Æ 8.47	30 ↓		Double struck. Countermarked ﷲ	
C.47	Æ 3.46 cut down	25 ↓	Only lower part of standing figure on flan	Only $\overline{\text{IC}}$ X[and upper part of cross on flan	
C.48	Æ 3.18 worn and pierced	23 ↓			

C.40–43 Whittemore
C.44 Peirce 1948
C.45 Peirce 1948 from Royall Tyler 25. xii. 27
C.46 Schindler 1960 from Graf 30. i. 44
R. 2000 is another countermarked specimen of this class.
C.47 H. Weller 2. vii. 69
This has been cut down, and the edges bevelled, apparently at the time. Possibly the cutting was done to make a half follis.
C.48 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class D		
			No inscription Christ seated on square-backed throne (Type IIb) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak; l. holds book, with ∴ on cover, by spine on knee In field, IC̄ XC̄	– + – ISXS bASILЄ bASIL – ◡ –	*c.*1050– *c.*1060
D.1	Æ 12.85	27 ↘			
D.2	Æ 12.66	31 ↓		Overstruck on Class C	
D.3	Æ 11.96	30 ↓			
D.4	Æ 10.32	32 ↓		Overstruck on Class B	
D.5	Æ 10.25	30 ↘			
D.6	Æ 10.11	28 ↓			

D.1–34 The obverse type of Christ probably represents a definite icon, as does that of Class C, but no identification has yet been made. The two b's in the reverse inscription have the form of an upright stroke thickened in its lower part, as is the case with Class B. There is normally a distinction in form between the two strokes above the inscription, which are abbreviation marks and definite bars, and those below, which are thicker at the ends than in the middle and part of the – ◡ – ornament.

D.1 Peirce 1948
W. (Constantine X) 10–17, R. 2015–17

D.2 Whittemore

D.3 Peirce 1948 acq. vi. 26

D.4 Schindler 1960

D.5 Peirce 1948 from Raymond v. 28

D.6 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
D.7	Æ	10.05	30	↓		Overstruck on Class B	*c.*1050–*c.*1060
D.8	Æ	9.89	29	↘			
D.9	Æ	9.70	31	↓			
D.10	Æ	9.59	28	↓			
D.11	Æ	9.50	29	↙			
D.12	Æ	9.22	27	↓			
D.13	Æ	8.85	30	↙			
D.14	Æ	8.76	28	↘			
D.15	Æ	8.68	29	↓		Overstruck on Class C	
D.16	Æ	8.66	30	↙			
D.17	Æ	8.58	25	↘			
D.18	Æ	8.53	26	↙			
D.19	Æ	8.42	31	↓		Overstruck on Class B (?)	
*D.20	Æ	8.29	30	↓			
D.21	Æ	8.23	33	↓			
D.22	Æ	8.08	29	↓			
*D.23	Æ	7.87	29	↓	Overstruck on Class C		
*D.24	Æ	7.86	27	↓			
D.25	Æ	7.79	30	↓	Overstruck on Class C		

D.7 Peirce 1948 from Raymond v. 28
D.8–9 Whittemore
D.10 Schindler 1960
D.11–12 Whittemore
D.13 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vi. 29
D.14 Whittemore
D.15 Peirce 1948
D.16 Whittemore
D.17 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vii. 28
D.18 Whittemore
D.19 Peirce 1948 gift of Royall Tyler from Budapest vii. 32
D.20 Schindler 1960
D.21 Swiss Collection 1956
D.22 Whittemore
D.23 Swiss Collection 1956
D.24–27 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
D.26	Æ	7.79	29	↘			*c.*1050–*c.*1060
D.27	Æ	7.55	27	↘			
D.28	Æ	7.46	30	↙			
D.29	Æ	7.03	29	↘			
D.30	Æ	6.93	33	↓	Overstruck on Class C		
D.31	Æ	6.56	30	↓			
D.32	Æ	6.31	32	↓		Overstruck on Class C	
D.33	Æ	6.26	29	↑	No IC̄ XC̄	Large, badly formed lettering	
*D.34	Æ	6.71	27	↓	Countermarked الله		
					Class Da		
					Same type	Same inscr., but – ⊕ – above and – ⌣ – beneath	
*Da	Æ	11.68	32	↓	Overstruck on Class C		

D.28 Peirce 1948
D.29 Whittemore
D.30 Schindler 1960
D.31 Whittemore
D.32 Schindler 1960
D.33 Whittemore
Perhaps a contemporary imitation
D.34 Peirce 1948 gift of Royall Tyler xi. 32
The countermark is badly formed, but intended for الله.
Da Schindler 1960
W. —, R. —
The obverse die of Class D made little impression on the flan of this specimen, though the faint outline of the seated Christ can be made out when the coin is held at the correct angle. It is not clear that the throne has a back, especially since the IC̄ XC̄ are on either side of the nimbus, instead of to either side of the throne.
The reverse is almost entirely this unusual variant of the reverse of Class D, though part of the standing figure of Class C is just visible. Mr. Bellinger believes the coin to be a contemporary imitation, but its style and general appearence point to its being the product of an imperial mint, though presumably struck with an early, experimental die.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class E		
			No inscription Bust of Christ (Type VIIb) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having one pellet in upright arm and two in each lateral arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book, with ∴ on cover, from beneath. In field IC̄ XC̄	– + – IS XS bASILЄ bASIL' – ◡ –	*c.*1060
E.1	Æ 9.49	28 ↓			
E.2	Æ 9.21	27 ↓			
*E.3	Æ 9.17	28 ↘	Overstruck by reverse of Class G		

E.1–8 This obverse type is the same as that of Classes A and B, but with a variant in the nimbus ornaments and no inscription. The reverse inscription and ornaments continue those of Class D. The overstrike recorded by Johnson (above, p. 637 note 20) shows that the class was issued during the reign of Constantine X.

E.1 Schindler 1960
W. (Isaac I) 5–6, R. 2009

E.2 Swiss Collection 1956

E.3 Schindler 1960
This coin technically belongs to Class G, not Class E, but the impression of Class G is so faint—it is limited to the lower part of the bust of the Virgin and her raised hands, which are visible to the upper left of the obverse of the coin—that it is better classified with Class E. It caused Mr. Bellinger much difficulty, since he assumed that the clearer impression was necessarily the later one and that Class E was consequently here overstruck on Class G, though all other evidence points to Class G being the later issue. The part of the flan with the impression of Class G, however, is thinner than the rest of the coin, which shows that it represents the later strike, the blow being a glancing one and the impression not "taking" elsewhere on the surface.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*E.4	Æ 8.85	27 ↙			*c.*1060
*E.5	Æ 7.21	28 ↓	Overstruck by Class G		
*E.6	Æ 5.90	29 ↓			
E.7	Æ 5.86 worn	25 ↘			
E.8	Æ 5.80 worn	27 ↓			
			Class E Var.		
			Same type, but one pellet in each arm of cross and ·⁝· on book	Same inscr. and ornaments	
*Ea	Æ 8.53	27 ↘			

E.4 Swiss Collection 1956

E.5 Schindler 1960

All that has "taken" of Class G is part of the conspicuous pellet border, which has eliminated the first letter to the left of each line of the reverse inscription.

E.6 Swiss Collection 1956

E.7 Schindler 1960

E.8 Whittemore

Ea Peirce 1948 acq. vi. 26

W. —, R. —

The ornament on the Gospel Book could conceivably be three rows of three pellets, but what appear to be pellets in the corners are probably corrosion marks and only those of ·⁝· are certain.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class F		
			No inscription Christ seated on backless throne (Type III) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised to side in blessing, l. hand holds book, with ∴ on cover, by spine on knee. In field, IC̄ XC̄	– + – IS XS bASILЄ bASIL` +	*c.*1060–*c.*1065
*F.1	Æ 11.07	28 ↓	Pellet in each arm of nimbus cross. Overstruck on Class E and overstruck by Class G		
F.2	Æ 10.34	29 ↙	Corroded and illegible	Overstruck on rev. of Class C	
F.3	Æ 8.77	29 ↓		Overstruck on Class E, nimbus cross visible	

F.1–15 Our specimens of this class are in exceptionally poor condition, and it is only on a few of them that all the details can be made out.

F.1 Peirce 1948 from Spink vi. 29
W. (Michael VI) 3–7, R. 2005
This coin, like E.3, technically belongs to Class G, but since the main impression is that of Class F it is placed here. All that is still visible of Class E is, on the obverse, part of the nimbus of Christ. The presence of one pellet in the upright and two in the left arm of the cross identifies the class for certain. These two strikings flattened most of the surface, and it was only on still thick portions of the edge that the die of Class G made any mark, with FP in the lower left and part of the pellet border in the lower right part of the obverse.

F.2 Swiss Collection 1956

F.3 Schindler 1960

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
F.4	Æ 8.71 worn	27 ↓			*c.*1060–*c.*1065
F.5	Æ 8.46	28 ↓			
F.6	Æ 8.36	26 ↓			
F.7	Æ 7.66	28 ↙			
F.8	Æ 7.60	28 ↙			
F.9	Æ 7.56	29 ↓	Overstruck on Class E		
F.10	Æ 7.35	26 ↘			
F.11	Æ 6.72	26 ↙			
*F.12	Æ 6.60	27 ↙			
F.13	Æ 6.41	26 ↑			
F.14	Æ 6.03	28 ↓			
F.15	Æ 5.40	26 ↓			

F.4 Swiss Collection 1956
F.5 Schindler 1960
F.6–7 Swiss Collection 1956
F.8 Whittemore
F.9 Swiss Collection 1956
F.10 Whittemore
F.11 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vi. 29
F.12 Schindler 1960
F.13 Whittemore
This is the only specimen on which the fingers of Christ's left hand, holding the Gospel Book by its outer edge, are clear.
F.14 Whittemore
F.15 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Class G		
					No inscription Bust of Christ (Type IXa) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand blessing inwards in sling of cloak, scroll held in l. In field, IC XC. Border of large pellets	No inscription Bust of the Virgin facing, nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion. In field, MP ΘV. Border of large pellets	*c*.1065–*c*.1070
G.1	Æ	11.87	28	↓			
G.2	Æ	11.80	28	↓			
G.3	Æ	11.10	29	↓			
G.4	Æ	10.20	28	↓			
G.5	Æ	9.79	29	↘			
*G.6	Æ	9.75	29	↓			
*G.7	Æ	9.06	28	↘			
G.8	Æ	8.34	27	↓			
G.9	Æ	8.30	28	↓		Double struck	

G.1–28 Class G has a novel bust of Christ, with a scroll instead of a book, and is the first copper coin to bear a representation of the Virgin. Although specimens are usually overstruck, both images are generally sharp, as if special pains were taken over them. Since they occur both under and over signed coins of Romanus IV they must be dated to his reign. Bellinger considers that they may have been struck at some mint different from both that responsible for Classes E and F and that of the signed coins, partly because of the complications involved in their overstriking and partly because of their notable change in type and their border of large pellets. He may well be correct, but in the absence of positive evidence I prefer to leave them to Constantinople.

G.1 Schindler 1960
W. (Constantine IX) 19–25, R. 1991–3

G.2–4 Whittemore

G.5 Schindler 1960

G.6 Peirce 1948 from Spink vi. 29

G.7 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28

G.8–9 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*G.10	Æ	8.20	27	↙	Double struck		*c.*1065–*c.*1070
G.11	Æ	7.92	28	↓	Overstruck on Class F		
*G.12	Æ	7.92 worn	28	↓	Countermarked عدل		
G.13	Æ	7.36	27	↓	Overstruck		
G.14	Æ	7.36	27	↓			
G.15	Æ	7.23	26	↓	Double struck	Double struck	
G.16	Æ	7.21	28	↓			
*G.17	Æ	7.00	27	↓			
G.18	Æ	6.59	28	↓		Overstruck on obv. of Constantine X, Class 2	
G.19	Æ	6.55	26	↓			
G.20	Æ	6.50	26	↓	Overstruck on obv. of Constantine X, Class 2		
G.21	Æ	6.35 very worn	27	↘			
G.22	Æ	6.18	27	↙	Double struck		
G.23	Æ	6.16	27	↓			
G.24	Æ	6.05	26	↓			
G.25	Æ	5.69	28	↙	Overstruck on Constantine X, Class 1 (+KΩN and ЄVΔK visible)		

G.10–11 Schindler 1960
G.12 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28
G.13 Whittemore
G.14 Peirce 1948 from Leblanc (Boston) 10. vi. 39
G.15 Schindler 1960
G.16 Peirce 1948
G.17 Schindler 1960
G.18 Whittemore
G.19 Peirce 1948 from Ciani x. 25
G.20 Schindler 1960
G.21 Whittemore
G.22 Peirce 1948 from Spink vi. 29
G.23 Schindler 1960
G.24 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
G.25 Peirce 1948

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
G.26	Æ	5.43	27	↓	Overstruck		*c.*1065–
G.27	Æ	3.93	26	↓	Overstruck on Class F		*c.*1070
	very worn						
G.28	Æ	3.79	30	↘	Overstruck; very thin flan		
					Class H		
					No inscription Bust of Christ (Type VIIb) facing, bearded, with crosss nimbus having ✕ in arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand blessing inwards in sling of cloak, l. holds book, with ∴ on cover from beneath. In field, IC̄ XC̄	No inscription Patriarchal cross with one large pellet and two small pellets at each extremity and floral ornament to l. and r. at base	*c.*1070– *c.*1075
H.1	Æ	8.67	29	↓	Overstruck on Class F. Little of upper type visible		
H.2	Æ	7.76	27	↓			

G.26 Schindler 1960
G.27 Whittemore
G.28 Peirce 1948 from Ciani x. 25
H.1–19 The obverse of this class marks a return to the more usual representation of Christ, but with a different ornament in the nimbus. The reverse type, that of a patriarchal cross on leaved base, is new on the coinage. It is discussed in the Introduction, p. 176. Specimens of Class H are frequently found overstruck by signed coins of Nicephorus III, which gives their approximate date. The coins at Dumbarton Oaks are all in poor condition, much worn and corroded, as seems to be normal for the surviving small change of the 1070's and 1080's.
H.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. 2497–8 (as Edessa)
H.2 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
H.3	Æ	7.46	27	↓	Overstruck on rev. of Class D, E, or F		*c.*1070–*c.*1075
H.4	Æ	7.44	28	↓			
*H.5	Æ	7.34	29	↙	Overstruck on Constantine X, Class 1		
H.6	Æ	7.23	26	↓			
*H.7	Æ	7.14	26	↓			
H.8	Æ	6.90	28	↙			
H.9	Æ	6.32	27	↓			
H.10	Æ	6.21	25	↓			
H.11	Æ	6.17 pierced	31	↓	Double struck		
H.12	Æ	6.16	26	↓			
H.13	Æ	6.02	26	↓	Overstruck on rev. of Class D, E, or F		
H.14	Æ	5.72	27	↓	Overstruck on rev. of Class D or E		
H.15	Æ	5.62	28	↓			
H.16	Æ	5.31	25	↓			
H.17	Æ	5.30	24	↙			
H.18	Æ	5.13	28	↓			
H.19	Æ	4.85	25	↘			

H.3–4 Schindler 1960 from Trinks 1898
H.5 Swiss Collection 1956
H.6 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28
H.7 Swiss Collection 1956
H.8 Peirce 1948
H.9–10 Whittemore
H.11 Whittemore
Peculiar double striking on elongated flan
H.12–13 Swiss Collection 1956
H.14 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28
H.15 Swiss Collection 1956
H.16 Schindler 1960
H.17 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
H.18 Swiss Collection 1956
H.19 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Class I		
					No inscription Bust of Christ (Type VIIb) facing, having long, slightly forked beard and cross nimbus with one pellet in each arm of cross, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand blessing inwards in sling of cloak, l. holds book, with ∴ on cover, from beneath. In field, IC̄ XC̄	No inscription Latin cross with one large and two small pellets at each extremity, small cross at intersection, and pellet with floral ornaments to l. and r. at base. Above, crescents to l. and r.	*c.*1075–*c.*1080
I.1	Æ	7.27	26	↙		Double struck	
*I.2	Æ	7.04	27	↓		Overstruck on Class G	
I.3	Æ	7.03	28	↓	Overstruck on Class H		
I.4	Æ	6.90	28	↓	Beard not forked	Overstruck on Class C	

I.1–64 This class has the same general appearance as Class H, with bust of Christ and leaved cross, but differs in detail. The bust of Christ (Type VIIb) has a longer beard, the nimbus ornament is different, and the book is held at a slight angle instead of horizontally. The cross on the reverse is a simple instead of a patriarchal one and has a small cross at the intersection and two crescents in the upper quarters. The latter are peculiar, for one would expect to find the star and crescent (i.e., sun and moon) that in Early Christian and Byzantine art frequently accompany representations of the Crucifixion, but they are evidently of some significance, since on Class K a crescent was to be introduced even more conspicuously to replace the leaved base of the cross. The coins are dated by being fairly frequently overstruck on signed folles of Michael VII. The lighter specimens are usually struck on very thin flans.

I.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. 2493–6 (as Edessa)

I.2 Schindler 1960

I.3 Swiss Collection 1956

I.4 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
I.5	Æ	6.68	27	↓			*c.*1075–*c.*1080
I.6	Æ	6.53	26	↓			
I.7	Æ	6.52	27	↓			
I.8	Æ	6.48	27	↓			
I.9	Æ	6.43	28	↓	Double struck		
I.10	Æ	6.40	23	↓			
I.11	Æ	6.10	23	↓			
I.12	Æ	5.98	27	↓			
I.13	Æ	5.87	26	↓	Overstruck on Michael VII		
I.14	Æ	5.86	25	↓			
*I.15	Æ	5.86	25	↘	Overstruck on Michael VII		
I.16	Æ	5.78	24	↓			
I.17	Æ	5.69	25	↙			
I.18	Æ	5.66	28	↙	Double struck		
*I.19	Æ	5.55	25	↓			
I.20	Æ	5.48	24	↓			
I.21	Æ	5.34	25	↓			
I.22	Æ	5.32	25	↓			
I.23	Æ	5.30	22	↓			
I.24	Æ	5.29	25	↙			
I.25	Æ	5.25	25	↙			
I.26	Æ	5.19	25	↓			

I.5–9 Swiss Collection 1956
I.10–12 Whittemore
I.13 Schindler 1960
I.14 Whittemore
I.15 Friend 1957
I.16 Peirce 1948 gift of Royall Tyler from Budapest vii. 32
I.17 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
I.18 Swiss Collection 1956
I.19 Schindler 1960 from Trinks 1898
I.20 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vii. 29
I.21 Swiss Collection 1956
I.22 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
I.23 Peirce 1948
I.24 Swiss Collection 1956
I.25 Whittemore
I.26–28 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
I.27	Æ	5.18	24	↓			*c.*1075–*c.*1080
I.28	Æ	5.08	23	↓			
I.29	Æ	5.06	28	↘			
I.30	Æ	4.95	27	↓	Overstruck on Michael VII		
I.31	Æ	4.95	24	↓			
I.32	Æ	4.84	24	↘	Double struck		
I.33	Æ	4.81	25	↓	Double struck		
I.34	Æ	4.75	24	↓	Double struck		
I.35	Æ	4.74	23	↓	Double struck		
I.36	Æ	4.63	24	↑			
I.37	Æ	4.62	23	↓			
I.38	Æ	4.47	25	↓	Overstruck on Constantine X and Eudocia		
I.39	Æ	4.37	24	↓			
I.40	Æ	4.36	25	↓	Double struck		
I.41	Æ	4.30	26	↓			
I.42	Æ	4.21	24	↘	Overstruck on Constantine X		
*I.43	Æ	4.15	22	↓			
I.44	Æ	4.10	23	↘			
I.45	Æ	4.07	25	↓			
I.46	Æ	3.94	23	↓			

I.29 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28
I.30 Whittemore
I.31 Swiss Collection 1956
I.32 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
I.33–34 Swiss Collection 1956
I.35 Schindler 1960
I.36 Peirce 1948 from Prince Philipp Sale iii. 28
I.37 Schindler 1960
I.38 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
I.39 Swiss Collection 1956
I.40 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
I.41 Swiss Collection 1956
I.42 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
I.43 Whittemore
I.44–46 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
I.47	Æ	3.89	25	↓			*c.*1075–
I.48	Æ	3.83	23	↙			*c.*1080
I.49	Æ	3.83	23	↘			
I.50	Æ	3.79	27	↓			
*I.51	Æ	3.78	26	↙			
I.52	Æ	3.65	21	↓			
	very worn						
I.53	Æ	3.59	23	↓			
I.54	Æ	3.41	25	↘			
	very worn						
I.55	Æ	3.40	26	↘			
I.56	Æ	3.13	26	↘	Thin flan		
I.57	Æ	3.04	25	↘	Double struck		
*I.58	Æ	3.02	27	↘			
I.59	Æ	2.87	22	↓			
I.60	Æ	2.85	25	↘			
I.61	Æ	2.74	26	↓			
	pierced						
I.62	Æ	2.72	24	↓	Overstruck on Michael VII		
I.63	Æ	2.64	25	↓			
I.64	Æ	1.42	24	↓			

I.47–48 Swiss Collection 1956
I.49 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
I.50–51 Swiss Collection 1956
I.52 Whittemore
I.53 Swiss Collection 1956
I.54 Whittemore
I.55 Swiss Collection 1956
I.56 Whittemore
I.57 Swiss Collection 1956
I.58 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
I.59 Swiss Collection 1956
I.60 Whittemore
I.61 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
I.62 Schindler 1960 from Trinks 1898
I.63–64 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class J		
			No inscription Bust of Christ Pantocrator (Type VIIIe) facing, bearded, with cross behind head having ∴ on each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. clasps book to breast. In upper angles of cross, two crescents. In field, IC̄ XC̄	No inscription Latin cross with large pellet and two small pellets at each extremity. Beneath the cross, large crescent. To l. and r., above and below, large pellets surrounded by small pellets	*c.*1080–*c.*1085
J.1	Æ 7.48	26 ↓	Overstruck on rev. of Nicephorus III whose type makes Class J hardly visible		

J.1–14 The Pantocrator bust without nimbus is unusual, but in its main features this type does not greatly differ from the one preceding it. The significance of the large crescent, replacing the leaved base of the cross in Classes H and I and doubled by the two smaller crescents on the obverse, is unexplained. Some of the coins (e.g., J.11, 12, 14) are on larger and thinner flans than the others, these being presumably coins of earlier classes hammered flat before restriking. No details of the cover of the Gospel Book are visible on the majority of the specimens at D.O., but on J.2, 3, 4, and probably 9 it has the row of outer pellets, and one or two pellets in the field on either side of the thumb or first finger, characteristic of the Pantocrator bust (above, p. 168). On J.10, however, the book is decorated ✕ and is held from beneath, so the bust is not a true Pantocrator one, and the same may be true of others on which the details are invisible.

Miss Thompson assigns Classes J–L to 1081–1118, since they belong to the reign of Alexius I, but their issue ended with the monetary reform of 1092.

J.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. 2499

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
J.2	Æ 7.25	26 ↓	Pellets on book visible		*c.*1080–*c.*1085
*J.3	Æ 6.99	25 ↓	Pellets on book visible		
J.4	Æ 6.46	24 ↓	Pellets on book visible		
J.5	Æ 6.41	25 ↓	Overstruck on Class I, with trace of Class C beneath		
J.6	Æ 6.15	23 ↘			
J.7	Æ 5.90	26 ↓	Overstruck on Class H (?)		
J.8	Æ 5.75	25 ↖	Overstruck on Class I		
*J.9	Æ 5.56	23 ↓	Outline of pelletted edge of cover visible		
J.10	Æ 5.45 pierced	23 ↓	Book ✕		
J.11	Æ 5.39	27 ↑			
J.12	Æ 4.19	25 ↓	Overstruck on Class H, with trace of E or F beneath		
J.13	Æ 4.16	23 ↙			
J.14	Æ 3.75	27 ↖			

J.2 Whittemore
J.3 Swiss Collection 1956
Illustrated in Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, Pl. 2.18
J.4 Grierson 1960
J.5 Swiss Collection 1956
J.6 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28
J.7 Swiss Collection 1956
J.8 Schindler 1960 from Dr. Ehrendorf 26. iv. 54
J.9 Schindler 1960 from Trinks 1898
Illustrated by Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, Pl. 2.19
J.10 Schindler 1960 from Trinks 1898
J.11 Schindler 1960
J.12–14 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Class K		
					No inscription Bust of Christ (Type VIIb) facing, with cross nimbus having one pellet in each arm of cross, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book, with ∴ on cover, from beneath. In field, IC XC. Border of large pellets	No inscription Half-length figure of the Virgin facing, nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion. To l., M; to r., ΘV Border of large pellets	*c.*1085–*c.*1092
K.1	Æ	8.80	25	?	Overstruck on Class J		
K.2	Æ	8.22	31	?	Overstruck on Class J, with trace of earlier class beneath	Countermarked كمر	
K.3	Æ	7.82	25	↓			
K.4	Æ	7.29	28	↘	Overstruck on Class J		
K.5	Æ	7.29	26	↓	Overstruck on Class J		

K.1–26 This type has a superficial resemblance to that of Class G, but the bust of Christ is of a more usual type, holding book instead of scroll, and the reverse shows the half-length figure of the Virgin, not simply her bust. The globules in the border are also much larger in size. A high proportion of specimens are overstruck, often very perfunctorily, on Class J. On three coins, K.1, 2, and 11, so little of the obverse has "taken" that the die axes cannot be made out.

K.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. 1994–5

K.2 Swiss Collection 1956
This coin was evidently flattened before restriking. The letters of the countermark seem to represent *kmr*, and their meaning is obscure.

K.3 Whittemore

K.4 Peirce 1948 from Spink iv. 29

K.5–6 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
K.6	Æ	6.76	25	↓	Overstruck on Class J		*c.*1085–1092
K.7	Æ	6.53	24	↘			
K.8	Æ	6.50	25	↘	Overstruck on Class J		
K.9	Æ	6.30	28	↓	Overstruck on Class I		
*K.10	Æ	5.94	25	↓			
K.11	Æ	5.90	25	?	Overstruck on Class J		
K.12	Æ	5.79	23	↙			
K.13	Æ	5.69	27	↓	Countermarked شمس	Overstruck on Class J	
K.14	Æ	5.65	26	↑	Overstruck on Class D		
K.15	Æ	5.46	28	↓	Overstruck on Class J		
K.16	Æ	5.21	24	↑	Overstruck on Class J		
*K.17	Æ	5.20	22	↓			
K.18	Æ	5.03	21	↘			
K.19	Æ	4.83	21	↓			
K.20	Æ	4.79	26	↑	Overstruck on Class E		
K.21	Æ	4.68	25	↓	Overstruck on Class J		

K.7 Whittemore
K.8–9 Swiss Collection 1956
K.10 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
Illustrated by Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, Pl. 2.21
K.11 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
K.12 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28
K.13–15 Swiss Collection 1956
K.16 Schindler 1960
Illustrated by Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, Pl. 2.20
K.17 Schindler 1960
K.18 Swiss Collection 1956
K.19 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
K.20 Whittemore
K.21–22 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*K.22	Æ 4.63	25 ↙			*c.*1085–1092
K.23	Æ 4.50 worn	22 ↘			
K.24	Æ 4.39 worn	22 ↘			
K.25	Æ 3.75	25 ↓			
K.26	Æ 2.08	25 ↓	Very thin flan		
			Class L		
*L.1	Æ 3.87	22 ↗	No inscription Bust of Christ (Type IVf?) facing, with cross nimbus having one pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation. Details of hands and book obscure. In field, IC̄ XC̄ XC̄ illegible	No inscription Latin cross flanked by IC (above) XC (beneath) NI (to l.) KA (to r.) NH for NI A illegible	*c.*1080(?)

K.23 Peirce 1948
K.24 Swiss Collection 1956
K.25 Whittemore
K.26 Swiss Collection

L–N Since the sequence A–K is now so well established for purposes of reference that it would be inconvenient to disturb it, and Classes L and M are referred to by Mme Morrisson in *BNC*, I have added Class N at the end. It was probably struck, however, at about the same time as Class H, and both Classes L and M may have preceded K or even J.

L.1 D. Winfield 6. iii. 68 from Trebizond
W. —, R. —
Illustrated by Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, Pl. 2. 22. The illustration of this type in Sabatier (Pl. LVIII. 18; II. 235, No. 4) is borrowed without acknowledgment from a specimen offered for sale by the Italian scholar-dealer Carlo Kunz, *Secondo Catalogo* (1855), No. 398, Pl. II. 16. Neither it, nor the D.O. specimen, nor that published by Bellinger (Pl. I. 9), is clear in the details of the bust. There is a large central pellet in a square beneath the neckline of the colobium, and Bellinger's specimen has two vertical rows of pellets to the right which may be part of the cover of the Gospel Book. But how this is held, and the gesture of the right hand, are quite obscure, and I have seen no further specimen which would clarify the matter.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class M		
*M.1	Æ 2.79	25 ↙	No inscription Christ seated on square-backed throne (Type IId) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation. Details of r. hand and Gospel Book obscure. In field, IC XC	No inscription Latin cross, jeweled, having one large pellet and two small pellets at end of each upper arm and large crescent at base of lower one. Large pellet in each upper quarter of cross	*c.*1080(?)
			Class N		
			No inscription Bust of Christ (Type IVf?) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having nothing in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand held in front of body in blessing l. holds book, with ∴ on cover. In field, IC XC	Patriarchal cross on base; in field above, IC XC; below, NI KA	*c.*1075(?)

M.1 Grierson 5.x.70
W. —, R. —
Sabatier's illustration of this type (Pl. LIX. 1; II. 236, No. 6) is also borrowed from Kunz's *Secondo Catalogo* (1855), No. 397, Pl. II. 15. The three specimens known to me—the other two are in Paris (*BNC*, Pl. LXXXI. 200) and Berlin—are in poor condition. The obverse type revives that of Class D, while the reverse has affinities with that of Class J, though the crescent is much flatter and the whole design more crudely conceived and executed. The coins are very thin, but this is fairly common with Classes H–J and is no good reason for attributing the type to any other period. The fact that Kunz had at the same time for sale one specimen each of Classes L and M, both of extreme rarity and unpublished up to that time, suggests that they had been found together.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*N.1	Æ 7.43	30 ↓	Overstruck on rev. of Class F	KA obscure. Trace of nimbus visible from earlier striking.	*c.*1075(?)

N.1 Swiss Collection 1960
W. —, R. —
Illustrated on Pl. LXX. The strokes over the NI and KA are uncalled for, as the word is not abbreviated, but it had also sometimes occurred in Classs C. Sabatier's illustration of this type (Pl. LIX. 2; II. 236, No. 7) is mainly that of the follis of Nicephorus III by which it was overstruck; all that is retained of Class N in his illustration is the severely plain patriarchal cross. The specimen published here gives the relevant obverse type and the letters in the reverse field, which were presumably illegible on his coin. The size of the dies and type, as well as the evidence of the overstrike, shows that the Class must belong to the late 1070's, its closeness to the folles of Nicephorus Bryennius being evident from Pl. LXX. One would expect other overstrikes on it to have been recorded, but evidently, like Classes L and M, it represents a tiny issue, probably struck by one or another of the pretenders of the period. The obverse type differs from Type Vf in having a short beard.

CONSTANTINE VIII

15 December 1025 – 12 November 1028

Titular Emperor from 962 (probably 30 March)

Constantine VIII had been Augustus since 962, and his co-emperorship had been punctiliously acknowledged on the coinage of Basil II, but not until the latter's death on 15 December 1025 did he become effectively emperor. His reign was as uneventful as it was brief. He fell seriously ill on 9 November 1028, hastily regulated the succession by marrying his second daughter Zoe to Romanus Argyrus, an elderly and undistinguished nobleman, and died three days afterward on the 12th.[1]

Wroth's account of the gold coinage of the reign, which is common, is seriously astray, since he has not separated histamena and tetartera and has attributed to Constantine VIII one group of coins belonging to Constantine IX. His Type 3 (below, pp. 740–1, Nos. 3.1–18; Pl. LVIII.3) has a quite different portrait from the others, with a short beard instead of a flowing, divided one, and its reduced fineness indicates a later date.[2] It must be transferred back to Constantine IX, to whom it had been given by Sabatier. This reattribution is confirmed by the Akcakoca hoard (1953), in which many specimens of this type were found with others of Constantine IX, but none of Constantine VIII.[3] There remain to Constantine VIII one type of histamenon and two of tetartera. It may be conjectured that the tetarteron having a type corresponding to that of the histamenon is the earlier of the two, the type being subsequently altered in order to reduce the possibility of confusion between the two denominations.

No silver coins are known which can be assigned to Constantine VIII. Wroth (p. 492, note 1) cited very doubtfully a specimen attributed to him in the Moustier catalogue (No. 4091, wrongly numbered 4157 on Pl. VII), pointing out that the portrait is that of Constantine VII. It is in fact a pattern solidus of this emperor that was never struck (above, p. 550). There is at Dumbarton Oaks a one-third miliaresion which Bellinger and I originally attributed to Constantine VIII, but since the emperor's name is spelled KΩN, while Constantine VIII is invariably and Constantine IX almost invariably spelled CΩN, I have now no doubt that it belongs to Constantine X (below, p. 765, and p. 773, No. 7b).

There is no copper coinage in Constantine's name, the mint presumably continuing to strike Class A2 of the Anonymous Folles in use under Basil II.

[1] Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 484–5.

[2] Grierson, "The Debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century," *BZ*, 47 (1954), 383.

[3] Goodacre, *Handbook* (2nd ed., 1957), 5. This hoard, which also contained the few known specimens of nomismata of Zoe and Theodora, was unfortunately dispersed, and little is known of its precise contents. See below, p. 731.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			NOMISMA		
			HISTAMENON		
			+IhSXISREXREϹNAN TIhM Bust of Christ Pantocrator (Type VIIIc) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having ʊ and ʊ in upper quarters, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. clasps book to breast. Triple border of dots	+CωnSτ ΛnτInbΛS ILEPSROM Bust of emperor facing, bearded, wearing collar piece, modified loros, and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, labarum surmounted by cross; in l., akakia. Triple border of dots	1025–1028
			(a) No pellet on shaft of labarum		
*1.1	AV 4.42	26 ↓			
*1.2	AV 4.41	26 ↓	Serifs on nimbus cross		
1.3	AV 4.40 pierced	26 ↙			
1.4	AV 4.39	26 ↙			
1.5	AV 4.36 pierced	27 ↙			
1.6	AV 4.31 pierced	27 ↙	Serifs on nimbus cross		

1.1 Whittemore
W. 3–5, R. 1969
Many of the very large group of Whittemore coins of the reigns of Constantine VIII–Theodora are presumably from a hoard, though since some of them are pierced and have been used as jewelry this can scarcely be true of them all. In addition to the specimens listed here, there is also a cast in base silver (2.60 g. ↓ Peirce 1948 from Andronicus), probably of the period.

1.2 Schindler 1960

1.3–8 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
1.7	Æ 4.21 pierced	25 ↙	Serifs on nimbus cross		1025–1028
*1.8	Æ 3.95 cracked and worn	25 ↓			
			(b) Pellet on shaft of labarum		
			Same. Cross in nimbus has serifs		
*2.1	Æ 4.42	25 ↓			
2.2	Æ 4.41	26 ↓			
2.3	Æ 4.41	25 ↓			
*2.4	Æ 4.40	25 ↓			
			TETARTERON		
			Class I		
			Same inscr. and type, but in each arm of cross, two pellets. No crescents in nimbus, the cross of which has serifs. Single border of dots	Same inscr. and type, but no pellet on shaft of labarum. Single border of dots	
*3	Æ 4.09	21 ↙			

2.1 Peirce 1948 from Ars Classica Sale XV, 30. vi. 30, lot 2121
W. —, R. —
2.2 Peirce 1948 from Platt i. 24
2.3 Whittemore
2.4 Peirce 1948
3 Peirce 1948 from Fürstenberg Sale, lot 1700 (Cahn Cat. 75, 30. v. 32)
W. 2, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
			Same inscr. and type	Same inscr. and type, but in raised r. hand, gl. cr. instead of labarum	1025–1028
*4.1	Æ 4.07	19 ↘		+CWNSTA[ ]SILEYS RWM	
*4.2	Æ 4.07	20 ↓			

4.1 Peirce 1948 from Fürstenberg Sale, lot 1699 (Cahn Cat. 75, 30. v. 32)
W. 1, R. 1968

4.2 Peirce 1948 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30, lot 1968

ROMANUS III Argyrus

12 November 1028 – 11 April 1034

Romanus III's reign dated in theory from his coronation on 9 or 10 November 1028, but in practice from Constantine VIII's death on 12 November. He was murdered by his successor Michael IV on Holy Thursday, 11 April 1034.[1]

The Emperor's gold and silver coinage is marked throughout by his devotion to the Virgin, which was commented upon, in not entirely approving terms, by Psellus. He founded and magnificently endowed the church and monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos,[2] in the southwestern quarter of the city near the Psamathia gate in the seawall, and in 1030 his restoration work in the church of Blachernae was rewarded by the discovery of a splendid icon of the Virgin suckling the Infant Jesus which was believed to have been plastered over in iconoclastic times and remained hidden for three hundred years.[3] The Virgin is represented in one form or another on all his coins.

GOLD COINAGE The histamenon, having on the obverse a seated Christ and on the reverse a representation of the Virgin crowning the emperor, requires no discussion. The fact that it is flat, not concave, and the good quality of its gold make it impossible that it should belong to Romanus IV. The type and inscription represent a return to those of John Zimisces, though there are various small differences: both figures are shown full length, the emperor holds a globus cruciger instead of a long cross, and there is no *Manus Dei* above his head. No altogether satisfactory arrangement of the coins, which vary among themselves in many small details, can be devised. The Virgin is sometimes nimbate and sometimes not; her title may be rendered M̄ Θ̄ or M̄ Θ; the two figures, particularly that of the Virgin, may be tall and slender or short and squat; the number of pellets in the hanging end of the loros varies from four to eight, and there is sometimes a pellet attached to its outer tip; Christ's hair sometimes follows closely the lines of his head and sometimes is fuller and curlier. The reign is so short that any breakdown into groups can have little chronological significance, and the details are not in themselves very consistent, since they seem to represent nothing more than the work of different die-sinkers and do not serve as evidence of mint organization. Bellinger divided the whole coinage into only two categories, based on the form of the M̄ Θ̄ abbreviation, but some of the other details seem to me of greater consequence. I would suggest that the variety having the Virgin without nimbus is amongst the earliest coins; that there follow the coins

[1] Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 505, gives Holy Thursday, 15 April, dates which do not agree, since Easter fell on the 14th. MS Coislin 136 gives the 11th, which is evidently correct.

[2] Cedrenus, II. 497; Michael Glycas, Bonn ed., p. 583; Psellus, *Chron.*, iv. 14–16 (ed. Renauld, I. 41–44). The monastery no longer survives, its site being partly occupied by the Armenian church of St. George (Sulu Manastir).

[3] Cedrenus, *loc. cit.*

with slender figures and six to eight pellets on the loros; that the variety with five pellets forms a transitional group; and finally that the coinage of the later years has four pellets and squat figures. I have therefore arranged the coins on these lines, though I do not feel that too much significance should be attached to the details. The coinage must have been extensive, since despite the large number of specimens at Dumbarton Oaks I have noticed only one die-link.

The tetarteron of Romanus III is one commonly attributed to Romanus IV, but the high quality of its gold shows that it belongs to the early decades of the century, before debasement had begun.[4] Its extreme rarity, coupled with the fact that Romanus' successor Michael IV struck no tetartera at all, suggests that the issue was limited to the very beginning of the reign.

SILVER COINAGE The only silver coin attributable to Romanus III is a large and very beautiful miliaresion more or less medallic in character, like that of Basil II with the image of the Virgin Nikopoios. The obverse shows the Virgin of the type known as Hodegetria, standing on a footstool, and holding on her left arm the Infant Jesus. The reverse has the emperor standing on a cushion holding a long patriarchal cross and a globus also surmounted by a patriarchal cross. The inscription is a hexameter line reading from one side of the coin to the other: Παρθένε σοι πολύαινε ὅς ἥλιτικη πάντα κατορθοῖ, i.e., "He who places his hope on thee, O Virgin all-glorious, will prosper in all he does." Each side has a triple border of dots broken by eight larger pellets, a feature copied ultimately from the Abbasid dirhem. Specimens of the coin are usually 26–28 mm. in diameter and have the figures of the Virgin and the emperor abnormally elongated and slender, but there exists a smaller variety of *c.* 24 mm. diameter on which the normal proportions of the figures are preserved.[5]

When Count de Salis first published[6] what is now the British Museum specimen of this coin, he attributed it to Romanus IV. This attribution was followed by subsequent scholars,[7] though Hauberg pointed out in 1900 that it could not be correct.[8] The type, which is quite characteristic, is imitated on Danish pennies of the mint of Lund which

[4] Grierson, "The Debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century," *BZ*, 47 (1954), 383; below, p. 718, Nos. 2.1–2.

[5] There was a specimen in Münzen und Medaillen A. G. Basel, Auction XXV, 17. xi. 62, lot 728, which is now in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society. See J. Fagerlie, "A Miliaresion of Romanus III and a Nomisma of Michael IV," *MN*, 11 (1964), 227–36, who notes some other specimens of small module. Sabatier illustrates one which he describes as being of gold (*Description*, II. 172, No. 6, Pl. L. 14 = *Iconographie*, Pl. byz. suppl., XXIV. 32), but it was probably of silver gilt, as is one of the specimens here.

[6] In *RN*², 4 (1859), 448. Sabatier had originally published a specimen of the coin as being one of John II (*Iconographie*, Pl. byz. suppl., XXIV. 33) but subsequently accepted Count de Salis' opinion (*Description*, I. 28; II. 172, No. 7). De Saulcy had described (but not illustrated) a specimen in the hands of a Paris dealer in 1836 (*Essai*, 246–7). He attributed it to John Zimisces.

[7] J. Friedländer in *Berliner Blätter f. Münzkunde*, 2 (1865), 179 (Santangelo collection, now in Naples Museum), and *ZfN*, 4 (1877), 21 (spec. at Berlin); Wroth, p. 525; Goodacre, 253.

[8] P. Hauberg, "De l'influence byzantine sur les monnaies de Danemark au XIe siècle," *Mémoires du Congrès international de numismatique, Paris, 1900* (Paris, 1900), 335–45, esp. 339–41. See also Fagerlie, *art. cit.*, and my article, "Harold Hardrada and Byzantine Coin Types in Denmark," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 1 (1966), 124–38, esp. 132–3.

were struck by Sven Estrithsson during the civil war between himself and his predecessor Magnus the Good (1042–7).[9] The dating of the Danish coins is based on abundant hoard evidence and cannot possibly be overthrown, and it is out of the question that the Byzantine coin could have been imitated from the Danish ones. The anonymous coin must therefore be attributed to some Byzantine emperor who reigned not too long before the middle 1040's. Constantine VIII can be eliminated, since his portrait with its long, divided beard is easily recognizable, and we have to choose between Romanus III (1028–34) and Michael IV (1034–41).

As between these two, no reasonable doubt is possible. Romanus III combined an intense devotion to the Virgin with delusions of military grandeur, fancying himself reliving the career of Alexander or Trajan and forcing war upon his Arab neighbors for no other reason than the gratification of his personal vanity.[10] The associations of the Hodegetria were of a military character. It was the custom, as early as the ninth century, for a general leaving on a campaign to visit the icon on the eve of his departure and pray for success.[11] When Romanus set out on his unlucky Syrian campaign of 1030 he must have performed such a ceremony, and in view of his peculiar temperament and combination of interests it is highly likely that he would have issued coins to mark the occasion. The hypothesis that he did so seems the only one which satisfactorily explains the type and inscription of the coin, and justifies us in ascribing it to the year 1030.

I was formerly of the opinion that a one-third miliaresion, catalogued below (p. 795, No. 7) under Romanus IV, was also a coin of Romanus III, but Romanus IV now seems to me more likely. The obverse type is a bust of the Virgin *orans* accompanied by the letters ΘK RΘ (i.e., θεοτόκε βοήθει),[12] while the reverse is a bust of the emperor holding a patriarchal cross and a globus cruciger, with PΩM as inscription and four Δ's in the outer margin. The "portraiture" of the emperor does not help either way, but in favor of Romanus III are his holding a patriarchal cross, like Romanus III on the miliaresion just discussed, and the fact that the Petes hoard of 1832 from Gotland contained only two Byzantine coins, a miliaresion of Basil II and a specimen of this one-third miliaresion, which might be presumed to be close together in date.[13] This evidence is not conclusive,

[9] Hauberg, *art. cit.*, Pl. XXVI. 5, 6, 7; *Myntforhold og udmyntninger i Danmark indtil 1146* (Copenhagen, 1900), Pl. VIII. 1, 4, 9.

[10] Cf. Psellus, *Chron.*, iii, 7–11 (ed. Renauld, I. 36–40).

[11] We first hear of this custom on the occasion of the departure of Caesar Bardas on his Cretan expedition of 866 (Theoph. Cont., Bonn ed., 204). Miss Fagerlie points out that one of the icons of the Virgin in the monastery of St. Clement at Ochrid, which is of the Hodegetria type, is labelled "Peribleptos."

[12] Wroth misread the inscription as CKPΔ, and taking the K as the equivalent of R (= B) he interpreted it as CVPIЄ ROHΘЄI PΩMANΩ ΔЄCΠOTH. The correct reading was given by G. Zacos and A. Veglery, "C for Σ on Coins of the Eleventh Century," *N.Circ.*, 68 (1960), 154–5, who pointed out that an invocation to the Lord could scarcely accompany a representation of the Virgin.

[13] This point is made by C. Morrisson, "Une monnaie d'argent de Romain III Argyre (1028–1034)," *Bull. de la Société française de numismatique*, 21 (1966), 53–4, who attributed the coin to Romanus III. The presence of the coin in the Petes hoard is noted by T. J. Arne, "Einige Aufzeichnungen über in Schweden gefundene byzantinische Silbermünzen," in *Studien zu vorgeschichtlichen Archäologie Alfred Götze ... dargebracht*, ed. H. Mötefindt (Leipzig, 1925), 223. It is omitted in the notice of the hoard in Mosser's *Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards* (1935), 66.

however, for the hoard contains a large number of non-Byzantine coins appreciably later in date—the burial can be placed *c.*1075–80—and three considerations point strongly in the other direction. One is the denomination: the one-third miliaresion is otherwise recorded only for Constantine X and Michael VII, i.e., for Romanus IV's predecessor and successor. The second is the formula ΘK RΘ for θεοτόκε βοήθει, continued by the RΩM ΔΔ on the other face of the coin, which is closely parallel to the C R P Δ (for Σταυρὲ Βοήθει Ῥωμανῷ Δεσπότῃ) of Romanus IV's follis but has no counterpart early in the century. The third is the four Δ's in the margin, which could be thought of as referring to Romanus IV's family name of Diogenes as well as including the word *despotes*. The balance of probability is therefore in favor of attributing the coin to Romanus IV.

COPPER COINAGE There is no copper coinage bearing the name of Romanus III, but Class A2 of the Anonymous Folles was probably still being issued during his reign.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			NOMISMA HISTAMENON		
			+IhSXISREX REϹNA NTIhM Christ seated on square-backed throne (Type IIa) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book by upper edge on knee. Double border of dots	ΘCEbOHΘ' RωMA Nω To l., emperor standing facing, wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia, holding r. hand to breast and gl. cr. in l. To r., Virgin standing facing, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, crowning emperor with r. and holding l. hand on breast. Between heads, M̄ Θ̄. Double border of dots	1028–1034
			(a) Virgin without nimbus; 6 pellets in loros end		
1a.1	N 4.41	22 ↙			
*1a.2	N 4.18	23 ↙			

1 The classification is discussed above, pp. 711–12. In addition to the coins catalogued below, there are three forgeries in the collection. One is a thin, uniface piece of silvered copper, broken and pierced, only the reverse being reproduced; it was probably made to serve as an ornament. The second is a contemporary forgery in silver (?). The third is a thick copper cast, pierced, and probably modern. It is from the Swiss Collection and perhaps identical with R. 1975, which Ratto absurdly attributed to Cherson.

1a.1–2 Whittemore
W. —, R. —
The two coins of group 1a are of smaller module than the rest and have the figure of the Virgin tall and slender, the cross on the globus cruciger +, and Christ with hair close to his head.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(b) Virgin with nimbus; 6–8 pellets in loros end		1028–1034
1b.1	Ɲ	4.43	24	↓		7 pellets	
*1b.2	Ɲ	4.42	24	↙		7 pellets	
*1b.3	Ɲ	4.42	25	↙		8 pellets	
1b.4	Ɲ	4.41	25	↙		7 pellets	
1b.5	Ɲ	4.41	25	↙		7 pellets	
1b.6	Ɲ	4.41	24	↙		6 pellets	
1b.7	Ɲ	4.40	25	↙		7 pellets	
1b.8	Ɲ	4.40	25	↙		7 pellets M̊Θ	
*1b.9	Ɲ	4.37	26	↙		6 pellets Ϻ for Ϻ; M̊Θ	
1b.10	Ɲ	4.36	25	↓		6 pellets M̊Θ	
					(c) Virgin with nimbus; 5 pellets in loros end		
1c.1	Ɲ	4.41	24	↙	Slightly concave A for Λ	Ϻ, Ш for Ϻ, Ш	
*1c.2	Ɲ	4.36	24	↓	Form of A obscure	Cross ✣	
1c.3	Ɲ	4.36 worn	25	↓	Form of A obscure	Ϻ, Ш for Ϻ, Ш	
1c.4	Ɲ	4.32	23	↓	Slightly concave A for Λ	• at loros end	

1b On coins of this group the figure of the Virgin is usually tall and slender, but nimbate, the cross is ·✣·, and Christ's hair is close to his head.

1b.1–2 Whittemore
W. 1–3, R. 1973

1b.3 Peirce 1948 from Schulman x. 31

1b.4–8 Whittemore

1b.9 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co.

1b.10 Whittemore

1c The coins of this group differ from those of the preceding one in that there are five pellets in the loros end. The figure of the Virgin is usually shorter, and Ϻ and Ш tend to become Ϻ and Ш.

1c.1 Friend 1957
W. —, R. —

1c.2–5 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
1c.5	Æ 4.16 pierced	25 ↙	Form of A obscure		1028–1034
			(d) Virgin with nimbus; 4 pellets in loros end		
*1d.1	Æ 4.43	24 ↙		Cross +, · at loros end, ⁘ ⁘ on skirt of Virgin	
1d.2	Æ 4.42	25 ↙		M, W for M, W, MΘ	
1d.3	Æ 4.42	24 ↙		M for M Same die as 1d.4	
1d.4	Æ 4.40	25 ↓	Slightly concave	M for M Same die as 1d.3	
1d.5	Æ 4.40	23 ↙		M for M, MΘ	
1d.6	Æ 4.40	24 ↙		M, W for M, W, MΘ	
1d.7	Æ 4.40	25 ↓	Slightly concave, double struck	M, W for M, W	
*1d.8	Æ 4.39	23 ↓		M, W for M, W, · at loros end, ⁘ ⁘ on skirt of Virgin	
1d.9	Æ 4.38	24 ↙		· at loros end, ⁘ ⁘ on skirt of Virgin	
1d.10	Æ 4.38	24 ↓		M, W for M, W	
*1d.11	Æ 4.37	24 ↓		MΘ	
1d.12	Æ 4.31 pierced	24 ↓		M, W for M, W · at loros end, ⁘ [⁘] on skirt of Virgin	
1d.13	Æ 4.31 pierced	24 ↓			
1d.14	Æ 4.24 pierced	25 ↙		M for M	
1d.15	Æ 4.14 worn	24 ↙		M for M	

1d On coins of this group the figure of the Virgin is always rather squat, and the A on the obverse has always the form A where it is legible. Christ's hair is thicker and more curled than on the other groups.

1d.1–15 Whittemore
W. —, R. 1972

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
1d.16	Æ 3.80 clipped	21 ↓		ⲙ, ⲱ for ⲙ, ⲱ, ⲙ̅ⲑ̅	1028–1034
			TETARTERON		
			+ⲑⲕⲥ ⲣⲟⲏⲑ Bust of the Virgin facing, wearing tunic and maphorion, holding on her breast a medallion of the Infant Christ with cross nimbus. To l., ⲙ̅ⲣ̅ To r., ⲑ̅ⲟ̅ⲩ̅ Single border of dots	ⲣⲱⲙⲁⲛ' ⲇⲉⲥⲡⲟⲧ Bust of emperor facing, wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., labarum Single border of dots	
*2.1	Æ 4.09	20 ↓		Same die as 2.2	
*2.2	Æ 4.09	19 ↙		Same die as 2.1	

1d.16 Peirce 1948 from Glendining sale 9. iii. 31, lot 649

2.1 Peirce 1948 from Fürstenberg Sale, lot 1717
W. p. 525 Type 3 (Romanus IV), R. —
This specimen, when in the Fürstenberg collection, was published by Pfaffenhoffen in *RN*², 10 (1865), 288, No. 4. Wroth published the BN specimen (ex Racine sale 23. i. 79, lot 2053, ex Penon, who first published it in *RBN*³, 2 [1858], 150). The coin is extremely rare. I know of no other specimens than the two here and the one in Paris, which is from a different pair of dies.

2.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 26

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			MILIARESION		
			+ΠΑΡΘΕΝΕ COIΠO ΛVAINE Virgin nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, standing on dais and turned slightly to the r. Her r. hand is on her breast; on her l. arm she holds the Christ-child, raising r. hand in benediction and holding scroll in l. To l., M̄ To r., Θ̄ Triple linear border with eight globules on middle line	OCHΛΠIKEΠAN TAKATOPΘOI Emperor bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia, standing facing on round cushion. In r. hand, long patriarchal cross; in l., globe surmounted by patriarchal cross. Triple linear border with eight globules as on obverse	1030(?)
			(a) Large module		
*3a.1	Æ 2.17 clipped	26 ↓			
3a.2	Æ 2.58 broken	28 ↓			
*3a.3	Æ 2.44 badly chipped	28 ↓			
*3a.4	Æ 2.32 pierced and gilded	26 ↙			
			(b) Small module		
(3b.1)	Æ 2.91	23 ↙	(ANS)		

3a.1 Whittemore
W. (Romanus IV) 7, R. —
3a.2 Peirce 1948
3a.3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
3a.4 Whittemore
(3b.1) See above, p. 712 note 5. There is amongst the Whittemore coins a cast forgery of this variety in base silver, plugged, probably made as an ornament (3.20 g. ↓).

MICHAEL IV the Paphlagonian

11 April 1034 – 10 December 1041

Michael IV's family was one of no consequence, and his rise to power was effected through the agency of his brother John the Orphanotrophos, who was apparently known to Romanus III while the latter was a private citizen and subsequently became one of his most trusted advisers. Michael's good looks were outstanding, and when he was introduced at court the middle-aged Zoe became infatuated with him. Romanus felt no affection for the woman he had been forced to marry and treated the intrigue with indifference, even when it became evident that Zoe intended Michael as his successor. Michael was duly crowned and enthroned on the evening of the day of Romanus' murder, and his public acclamation took place the day following.[1]

Michael was in many respects a good ruler, despite his inauspicious beginnings and his weakness in promoting other members of his family to high offices for which, with the exception of John, they were clearly unfitted and in the exercise of which they made themselves extremely unpopular. But he had the misfortune to be an epileptic and to suffer from dropsy, so that it soon became clear that his reign would be short. Since he could not expect children by Zoe and his only surviving brothers were eunuchs, he and John agreed that his successor should be his nephew Michael Calaphates, son of his sister Maria. The younger Michael was duly adopted by Zoe as her son and given the title of Caesar. The emperor himself, though still quite a young man, died on 10 December 1041, after assuming the monastic habit in the great church of the Anargyroi which he had founded.[2]

GOLD COINAGE. The gold coins of the eleventh-century Michaels, who were four in number, form two groups, one without any distinguishing family name or other indication of exact attribution, the other with the name of Michael accompanied either by the family name of Ducas or the name of the Empress Maria. Coins of the second group must all belong to Michael VII Ducas (1071–8), either alone or in association with his wife, the Alan princess Maria. The remaining coins have to be divided between Michael IV (1034–41), Michael V (1041–2), if he minted at all, and Michael VI (1056–7). The attributions of Sabatier and Wroth are traditional and based, where they are based on anything, on the supposition that the coin types of successive emperors are likely to resemble each other. This is sometimes a good argument, but here, where the period of time involved is short and the die-sinkers had a fairly limited repertory of recognized iconographic types from which to choose, it can by itself carry little weight.

Six criteria are helpful in working out the attributions. They are: (1) the comparative length of the three reigns—Michael V only four months and Michael VI exactly a year as

[1] Psellus, *Chron.*, iv. 1–3 (ed. Renauld, I. 53–5); for the date, see above, p. 711 note 1.

[2] Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 533–4; Psellus, iv. 52–4 (ed. Renauld, I. 83–5).

against Michael IV's seven years eight months; (2) the fineness of the coins, for debasement had only just begun in the reigns of Michael IV and V but was appreciably further advanced by that of Michael VI;[3] (3) the evidence of Scandinavian coin hoards dating from the 1040's, since Danish pennies of this decade sometimes imitate Byzantine coin types and obviously could not imitate those of Michael VI;[4] (4) the titles (*basileus, despotes, autocrator*) given to the emperors on the coins; (5) the literary evidence for the restrictions placed upon Michael V when he was granted the imperial title, since these render it doubtful if he could have minted at all; and (6) typological considerations, for one of the disputed coins provided a model for Thessalonican issues of the Emperor Alexius I. The criterion of portraiture is of no serious value.

With these considerations in mind, one can make attributions as follows:

HISTAMENA. Two types can be dealt with briefly. Coins with a facing bust and the title *basileus* belong to Michael IV. They were correctly attributed to him by Sabatier and Wroth, and are too common to belong to either of the short reigns. The rather rare coins showing the emperor being crowned by the Virgin are best assigned to Michael VI. Wroth attributed them to Michael V on the ground that Michael VI was already supplied with coins, but this now turns out to be incorrect. They give the emperor the title of *autocrator*, which occurs on tetartera that can be assigned to Michael VI with certainty, and they are not amongst the Byzantine coin types copied in Denmark, which is a strong argument against their attribution to Michael V. Unfortunately, no figures for fineness are available.

The real problem is that of the exceedingly rare histamenon showing the Archangel Michael handing a labarum to the emperor. The type is most unusual, for the emperor stands on the right instead of on the left, and the Archangel, while remaining facing, has to stretch his arm across his body in order to hold the labarum with his right hand. Sabatier attributed the coin to Michael VI, and was followed by Wroth. This is certainly wrong, as Hauberg pointed out, for the type was already being copied in Denmark in the late 1040's. The choice is between Michael IV and Michael V, and since another type exists for Michael IV, it is natural to attribute them to Michael V, as I have done in earlier studies. Two scholars would prefer to make of them a minor issue of Michael IV, leaving Michael V with no nomismata at all. Miss Fagerlie's argument[5] that St. Michael was much venerated as a healer, and that Michael IV was a chronic invalid, cannot be said to carry much weight, since the emperor's special devotion was directed not to St. Michael but to SS. Cosmas and Damian, the Anargyroi, the "moneyless" saints who did not charge for their services. Hendy's arguments are more substantial. He would attribute the coins to Thessalonica on the ground that an almost identical type, but with St. Demetrius

[3] Grierson, "The Debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century," *BZ*, 47 (1954), 379–94, in part corrected in "Notes on the Fineness of the Byzantine Solidus," *BZ*, 54 (1961), 92–7.

[4] P. Hauberg, "De l'influence byzantine sur les monnaies de Danemark au XIe siècle," *Mémoires du Congrès international de numismatique, Paris, 1900* (Paris, 1900), 335–45; P. Grierson, "Harold Hardrada and Byzantine Coin Types in Denmark," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 1 (1966), 124–38; M. F. Hendy, "Michael IV and Harold Hardrada," *NC*[7], 10 (1970), 187–97.

[5] J. M. Fagerlie, "A Miliaresion of Romanus III and a Nomisma of Michael IV," *MN*, 11 (1964), 234–6.

instead of St. Michael, was struck there by Alexius I in the course of the first Norman war.[6] The fact that the coins come from a provincial mint would account for both their rarity and their use of an imperial title different from that of the histamena of Constantinople. The opening of a mint at Thessalonica would be explained by this city being Michael IV's headquarters for the Bulgarian campaign, during the last year of his life, and since Harold Hardrada took part in that campaign he would have been particularly well placed to secure large quantities of such rare coins and bring them subsequently to Denmark. That this would leave Michael V without a gold coinage is not sufficient reason against it, for Michael—or his uncles on his behalf—had promised Zoe that he would be emperor in name only, and he might therefore have been expected not to mint.

Although no absolute certainty is possible, I have been convinced by Hendy's reasoning and transferred the coins to Michael IV. The most cogent arguments are not the incidence of Scandinavian imitations; Harold Hardrada would have been just as well placed to import Michael V's histamena, if they existed, as he would those of Michael IV. They are the existence of Alexius I's derivative coins and the implications of Psellus' account of Michael V's constitutional position. It is highly unlikely that a Thessalonican mint in the 1080's would have selected as its model a quite unimportant coinage, struck forty years previously and of such rarity that only four specimens are known today, unless this had some special connection with the city. As for Michael V, the few days of uncertain authority which he enjoyed in April 1042 after his emancipation from Zoe would not have been sufficient for an autonomous coinage, and during the previous four months, if he had minted at all, he could have done so only in association with the empress, who would have taken precedence over him on the coins.[7] We have in fact a pattern histamenon and a pattern tetarteron of Zoe belonging to this period, and they make no allusion to Michael V at all.

TETARTERA. Only one type of tetarteron is known that can be earlier than Michael VII. It has on the obverse the bust of the Virgin, on the reverse a standing figure of the emperor. Sabatier and Wroth attributed it correctly to Michael VI. Since it is fairly common one might assume that it belonged to Michael IV, but the fineness (16–17 carats)[8] shows that it comes after the reign of Constantine IX. It was also only from 1042 onward that tetartera began to be struck in quantity.[9]

Michael IV's gold coinage thus consists of one type of histamenon struck at Constantinople and another, exceedingly rare, struck in the last months of the reign at Thessalonica. The module of the Constantinopolitan coins is nearly always larger than that of the histamena of Romanus III, and the coins are thin and often slightly concave, or at least not quite flat. As yet this was no more than a defect in striking, and not, as it later became, a formal indication of debasement,[10] though they are in some cases of poor quality gold. His reign, however, marks the beginning of the great debasement of

[6] Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, 41–5, 71–2 (Pl. I. 9–12). These coins were assigned by Wroth to Alexius III (Wroth, Pl. LXIII. 4–6).

[7] As her name took precedence over Michael's in proclamations (Psellus, iv. 17 [ed. Renauld, I. 96]).

[8] "Notes on the Fineness of the Byzantine Solidus," (above, p. 721 note 3), 95–6.

[9] Above, p. 28.

[10] Above, p. 6.

the eleventh century.[11] The design of the coins is very uniform. The emperor's appearance does not conform at all closely to Psellus' description of the youthful good looks that captured Zoe's heart, but a beard was customary in eleventh-century Byzantium.[12] The only noteworthy variations are in the design of the labarum, of which there are six varieties differing in the form of the central ornament (pellet, pellet in a circle, diamond, saltire and four pellets) and in the ornament above (cross of four pellets, triangle of three pellets, single pellet). It is not clear that these represent anything more than the vagaries of die-sinkers; they do not seem to mark distinctive issues of varying fineness corresponding to the degree of concavity of the coins. I am inclined to date the form ⁘ earlier than others, both because it is the traditional design and because some of the specimens in the group are of relatively small module, not very different from the histamena of Romanus III. Coins with ⁘, which are also sometimes small, perhaps come next. The only specimen I have seen with ⁘, which is rare, is poor in color and debased in appearance.

The only other coin attributable specifically to Michael IV is the histamenon of the mint of Thessalonica described below, No. 2. Apart from the "facing angel" on reverses of sixth- and early seventh-century solidi it is the first representation of an angel in the Byzantine series. It is also the first representation of a saint other than the Virgin, apart from the brief appearance of St. Alexander on the coins of the Emperor Alexander (912–13). Its extreme rarity—only four specimens are known to me[13]—is to be explained by the brevity and the exceptional circumstances of its issue.

These histamena make up all the identifiable coinage of Michael IV. He has no known silver coins. The Anonymous Folles of Class C (above, pp. 681–4) have been attributed to him by recent scholars, in place of those of Class B which were assigned to him by Wroth. My own view is that Class B may have been struck during his reign, but the dating is at best only approximate in character.

[11] Above, pp. 43–4.

[12] Above, p. 145.

[13] They are: (1) the specimen illustrated by Sabatier, Pl. XLIX. 16, who does not give its whereabouts; (2) Hermitage, ex Photiadès 494; (3) ANS, ex Gautier collection, published by Miss Fagerlie; and (4) DO.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			NOMISMA		
			HISTAMENON		
			+IhSXISRЄXRЄSNΛN TIhM Bust of Christ (Type V/VIII) facing, with long beard and nimbus cross having ⁝•⁝ in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in front of body, l. clasps book to breast. Triple border of dots	+MIX ΛH LbΛSILЄ ЧSRM Bust of the emperor, facing, bearded, wearing collar piece modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, labarum; in l., gl. cr. On l., above, *Manus Dei*. Triple border of dots	1034–1041
			(a) Labarum with ⁝•⁝		
1a.1	Æ 4.42	26 ↓			
1a.2	Æ 4.40	26 ↓			
*1a.3	Æ 4.39	25 ↙		Breaks MI XΛ	
1a.4	Æ 4.38 chipped	27 ↓		Λ for Λ	
*1a.5	Æ 4.37	25 ↓			
1a.6	Æ 4.33	24 ↙		Breaks MI XΛ Ends RM′	

1 In the obv. inscription, XPS has invariably the form XIS and the final Ч of *Regnantium* is always inverted. It is impossible to indicate in print the variations in shape of the Ϛ, which is usually an S but can become something like a J.

1a.1–2 Whittemore
W. 1–5 (labarum forms not differentiated), R. —

1a.3 Peirce 1948 from Bourgey iii. 26

1a.4–6 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(b) Labarum with ⊡ Ends RM′		1034–1041
1b.1	N 4.80 with mount	26 ↓			
*1b.2	N 4.42	27 ↙	Same die as 1b.3	Same die as 1b.3	
1b.3	N 4.41	26 ↙	Same die as 1b.2	Same die as 1b.2	
1b.4	N 4.41	26 ↓			
*1b.5	N 4.40	26 ↓			
1b.6	N 4.39	26 ↓			
1b.7	N 3.83 clipped	25 ↙			
			(c) Labarum with ⊡		
*1c.1	N 4.44	28 ↓	Slightly concave. Double struck		
1c.2	N 4.40	28 ↓	A for Λ		
*1c.3	N 4.36	27 ↓	Slightly concave	Double struck	
			(d) Labarum with ⊡		
*1d.1	N 4.46	28 ↘	Slightly concave		
1d.2	N 4.41	24 ↓			
1d.3	N 4.41 pierced	29 ↓			
*1d.4	N 4.40	26 ↘			

1b.1–2 Whittemore
1b.3 Whittemore
Slightly crumpled. Specific gravity 18.9, so fineness 23½ carats
1b.4 Peirce 1948 from Spink iv. 29
Specific gravity 17.8, so fineness 21½ carats
1b.5 Whittemore
1b.6 Whittemore
Specific gravity 17.3, so fineness 20½ carats
1c.1–3 Whittemore
1d.1 Peirce 1948
R. 1976
Specific gravity 18.1, so fineness 22 carats
1d.2–3 Whittemore
1d.4 Whittemore
Specific gravity 16.7, so fineness 19 carats

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(e) Labarum with ⁂		1034–1041
1e.1	N	4.40	27	↙			
*1e.2	N	4.39	28	↓	Slightly concave	Breaks ΜΙΧΑ Η L	
					(f) Labarum with ⁂		
*1f	N	4.41	27	↓	Double struck		
					Thessalonica		
					NOMISMA		
					HISTAMENON		
					+IhSXISREX RESNAN TIhM Christ seated on backless throne (Type III) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised to side in blessing, l. holds book (by spine) on knee. Triple border of dots	+MI XAHL ΔESΠOT On l., the archangel Michael, winged, standing, wearing chlamys, the border of which he holds in l. On r., emperor standing facing, bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with pendilia, holding l. hand open on breast. Between them, by their r. hands, they hold labarum. In upper l., *Manus Dei* crowns emperor. Triple border of dots	
*2	N	4.37	25	↘			

1e.1 Gans 1946
1e.2 Peirce 1948
1f Peirce 1948 from Raymond xii. 29
This coin is of paler gold than the others and has the ragged edge often found on electrum coins later in the century.
2 A. H. Baldwin 13. xi. 59
W. p. 509 Type 2 (Michael VI), R. —

ZOE and MICHAEL V Calaphates

Zoe alone: 10–13 December 1041

Zoe and Michael V: 13 December 1041 – 21 April 1042[1]

The death of Michael IV left Zoe as Augusta, and after three days of consideration she decided to fulfill his plans and those of his family, and Michael V was acclaimed and crowned by the patriarch.[2] His reign was a brief one. As soon as he felt able to do so he disgraced his uncle John the Orphanotrophos, who had raised him to power, and in April 1042 attempted to set aside Zoe also, sending her to the Princes Islands. He was promptly overthrown by a popular uprising. Zoe was restored to power, but with an unwelcome colleague, for her sister Theodora was unwillingly drawn out of seclusion in her convent and acclaimed Augusta as well (20 April). The next day Michael was blinded at Theodora's orders and confined in a monastery.[3] Nothing is known of his subsequent fate.

It has been argued above, in the Introduction to Michael IV's reign, that there are no known coins of Michael V, and that none are likely to have been struck. Coins previously attributed to him belong partly to Michael IV, partly to Michael VI. There are, however, what appear to be copper patterns for a histamenon and a tetarteron of Zoe alone which must have been prepared early in 1042, although, so far as we know, no corresponding gold coins were struck.

The pattern histamenon, known in a unique specimen in the numismatic collection of the Archeological Museum at Istanbul, was brought to my attention some years ago by Mr. Hendy. The obverse type is the half-length facing figure of the icon of Christ known as the Antiphonetes[4] in the Church of the Virgin of the Chalkoprateia and recognizable by the curious gesture of benediction of Christ's right hand. This is held upright in front of the body, with the palm facing the spectator and only the third finger, instead of the third and fourth fingers, bent across the palm to touch the thumb. This icon, which is identified by the inscription on the pattern coin (O|AN|T|I Φ|ω|NH|T, i.e., Ἀντιφωνητής) and also known from a mosaic formerly at Nicaea, was an object of special veneration to Zoe, who had a copy of it made for her private devotions and founded a church in its honor in which she was eventually buried. The reverse of the pattern shows

[1] Strictly speaking, the joint reign might be considered as ending on the night of 18 April, the Sunday after Easter, when Zoe was sent into exile; or on the nineteenth, when Michael informed the Senate of what he had done, but the tumults of the nineteenth to twenty-first do not allow us to credit Michael with a subsequent sole "reign." There is a careful discussion of the chronology in H. Mädler, *Theodora, Michael Stratiotikos, Isaak Komnenos* (Leipzig diss. Plauen i. V., 1894), 2–3.

[2] Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 534–5: on the third day after Michael IV's death. Psellus, *Chron.*, v. 5 (ed. Renauld, I. 88), refers to the ceremonies, but as usual ignores the chronology.

[3] Cedrenus, II. 540.

[4] For what follows, see further in the Introduction, pp. 162–4.

the bust of the empress, splendidly robed and holding a scepter and globus surmounted by a trefoil, with the simple inscription +ZωHA VΓ OVCTH.

What its size suggests must be a pattern for a tetarteron is a small copper "coin" at Dumbarton Oaks having on one side the bust of an empress whom I would identify as Zoe and on the other the very characteristic bearded face of her father Constantine VIII. There is no inscription on the side with the bust of Constantine. The inscription surrounding the bust of the empress is partly illegible as the result of wear, and the letters still legible have defied all my efforts, and those of other scholars whom I have consulted, to make sense of them. The best reconstruction at which I can arrive is the following:]ỊṆỌΛ̣Ç̣ωNЄ̣NIAAΓOỊ[. There are perhaps one or two letters missing at the beginning; the first four proposed are ambiguous, for the N might be H—it is a square letter with an upright stroke on the right—the O is a circular blob, the Λ might be A, and the C could be Є, but this is unlikely before ω. The letters ωN are clear, the next one could be C, and NIAAΓO—one would expect it to continue (AΓO)VCTH—are clear. These letters cannot be made to fit the name of Constantine's wife Helena, and though they equally do not fit that of Zoe, it is to her, since she was his daughter and reigned in her own right, that I believe the "coin" belongs. Although the design would make it into a kind of memorial issue, it has obvious analogies with the pattern tetarteron of Romanus IV and Eudocia at Paris (below, p. 792, No. 4). Even if my attribution turns out eventually to be unjustified, its iconographical interest justifies its publication here.

What might be a pattern for another class of histamenon, but is more likely to be a pattern for a miliaresion, was found at Antioch and was apparently in the collection of A. Toselli, a civil engineer there, when it was published by Victor Chabot in 1905.[5] Since its present whereabouts is unknown, it is published here from the sketch in this author's article. A "coin" 34 mm. in diameter must have been intended for either a

histamenon or a miliaresion, and the fact of the obverse type being a bust of the Virgin makes the latter more likely. The bust of Zoe on the reverse shows the empress wearing a crown and robes corresponding closely to those of the later four-solidus gold bulla of Theodora, but she holds a trifid scepter instead of a labarum and a globus cruciger instead of a globus with a trefoil ornament.

[5] "Antiquités de Syrie," *Revue des études anciennes*, 6 (1904), 35–6.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople NOMISMA PATTERN HISTAMENON		
			Three-quarter-length figure of Christ Antiphonetes (Type IVc) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having two pellets in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in front of body, l. holds book by lower inner corner. To l., O AN T I To r., Φ ω NH T, above which, IC and XC	+ZωHA VΓ OVCTH Bust of empress facing, wearing ornate costume with collar piece and crown with cross, pinnacles, and pendilia, holding in r. hand a beaded scepter surmounted by trefoil; in l. a globus surmounted by trefoil ornament	1041/2
*(1)	Æ 17.79	26 ↓	(Istanbul)		

(1) The empress' costume has a high pearl choker shown as two rows of pellets, below this two rows of globules (jewels) extending from shoulder to shoulder, and in front a square panel with ⊙ in the center, a pellet above and below and at each side, and a pear-shaped ornament in each angle. The scepter is similar to that held by Constantine IX on Class I of his tetartera, while Theodora holds a globus with trefoil ornament on her four-solidus bulla. See Introduction, pp. 141, 132.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			PATTERN TETARTERON		
*2	Æ 3.57	18 ↑	]ḮṆỌ̣ᴧ̣ÇѠNẹNIAA ΓOI[Bust of empress facing, wearing ornate costume and crown with pinnacles and pendilia, holding in r. hand a globus with patriarchal cross and in l. a beaded scepter	No inscription Bust facing with long beard, wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia, holding in l. hand a globus with patriarchal cross. Border of large globules	1041/2
			PATTERN MILIARESION		
(3)	Æ	34 ↓	ΘKЄ B,Θ, Bust of the Virgin orans, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion. In field, $\overline{MP}$ and $\overline{ΘV}$ (Former Toselli coll.)	+IѠHAЧ ΓOЧST Bust of empress facing, wearing modified loros with high pearl collar and crown with pinnacles and pendilia, holding in r. hand a trifid scepter, in l., gl. cr.	

(2) Sotheby 16. x. 68, lot 468 (from H. Weller)
The empress' costume differs from that of the preceding coin in being without a choker and having instead a more elaborate and much deeper collar hanging low on the breast with only a narrow panel, two pellets broad, hanging down the front of her body.

ZOE and THEODORA

Joint effective rule: 20 April – 11 June 1042

(Titular rule: Zoe 1028–50, Theodora 1042–56)

Zoe had been promoted to the rank of Augusta two days before Constantine VIII's death in 1028,[1] but a well-established Byzantine custom, which only a few strong-minded empresses managed to disregard, had relegated her to second place during the reigns of her successive husbands or protegés. Theodora, after having been accorded a slightly inferior rank more or less corresponding to that of Caesar at the beginning of Romanus III's reign, had as a result of Zoe's enmity been confined in a convent since the early 1030's[2] and emerged only on 20 April 1042 to be hailed by the Senate and people as Augusta. The joint reign of Zoe and Theodora without a male colleague lasted for less than two months. Neither of them, in Psellus' blunt judgment, was in the least fitted to rule, but the fate of Michael V made ministers unwontedly cautious over appearing to trespass on their prerogatives. In the end it was Zoe who took the initiative. She married Constantine Monomachus on 11 June 1042,[3] and his coronation as emperor compelled the sisters to take second place again in the imperial hierarchy. Zoe died in 1050,[4] but Theodora survived to become sole ruler in 1055–6.

A few histamena of the brief joint reign first came to light in the Akcacoca hoard of 1953.[5] The hoard must have been buried in the reign of Constantine IX, since it also contained some of his coins, but its exact size, and how many coins of Zoe and Theodora were in it,[6] are unknown. The obverse type has the bust of the Virgin *orans* with a medallion of Christ on her breast, the inscription being +ΘΚΕΡΘΤΑCΡΑCΙΛΙCΙC, i.e., Θεοτόκε βοήθει τὰς βασιλίσις (*sic*, for βασιλίσσας). The reverse shows the crowned busts of the two empresses facing and holding between them a labarum, the legend continuing that of the obverse as +ZΩHNSΘΕΟΔΩ', i.e., Ζωὴν καὶ Θεοδώρν. The empresses wear jewelled robes with deep collars and the traditional crowns with triangular plaques, but the *prependulia* are unusually short, ending above the level of the shoulder.

No other coins of the reign are known, and whether any were struck must be considered doubtful. The nomisma would for reasons of prestige be given precedence over the rest.

[1] See above, p. 707.

[2] Psellus, *Chron.*, v. 34–5 (ed. Renauld, I. 106–8).

[3] Below, p. 733.

[4] Lupus Protospatharius, a. 1050 (*MGH*, *SS*, V. 59), gives her "reign" in association with her three husbands as twenty-two years.

[5] Goodacre, *Handbook* (1957 ed.), 4–5.

[6] There seem to have been at least eight, but the problem is complicated by the existence of a number of forgeries which reached the market at almost the same time as the genuine coins. The forgeries are fairly skillfully made, but there is careless work in, e.g., the nimbus of Christ, which is not circular and has the lines of the cross arms touching neither Christ's head nor the circumference of the nimbus on either side.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position-	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			NOMISMA		
			HISTAMENON		
			+ΘΚΕΡΘΤΑCRACI ΛICCIC Bust of the Virgin orans, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion with ∴ on each shoulder and on brow. On her breast, medallion of the infant Christ with cross nimbus. In field, MP ΘV Double border of dots	+ZWHN SΘEOΔW' Busts of Zoe and Theodora facing, wearing crowns with pendilia and alternating triangular plaques and pinnacles. They hold labarum between them. Double border of dots	1042
*1	Æ 4.41	25 ↓			

1 Hecht 1956
W. —, R. —

CONSTANTINE IX Monomachus

11 June 1042 – 11 January 1055

Background and Chronology

Constantine Monomachus, unlike the two Michaels, was a member of one of the great families of the city, and had married, as his second wife, a niece of Romanus III. His good looks, affable manners, and easygoing disposition made him popular at court, and he was viewed as a possible successor to Romanus. Michael IV, regarding him as a potential rival, promptly exiled him to Mitylene, where he was still living, as a middle-aged widower, in 1042. Zoe, with the approval of the Senate, recalled him to court and married him on 11 June. Since there were canonical difficulties over a third marriage the coronation could not take place at the same time; the marriage was blessed by a priest of the Nea, and the coronation by the patriarch followed the next day.[1] Zoe continued to play a fairly prominent role in affairs until her death in 1050. Theodora, while retaining her imperial title, seems gradually to have gone again into retirement, but when Constantine died on 11 January 1055[2] without having satisfactorily settled the succession, it was to her that the throne naturally reverted.

Constantine was in many ways fortunate, for two serious revolts against him came to nothing, a major attack on Constantinople by the Russians was beaten off, and he was able to enjoy the charms of two successive mistresses without any serious hindrance from Zoe. He played a beneficent role in the culture of the capital, patronizing scholars and refounding the university of Constantinople. But he took no interest in government, neglected the army, and wasted on senseless extravagance the great treasure of Basil II. His reign, as Psellus admits, was a disaster for the Empire, and marks a turning point in its fortunes in the eleventh century.

Coinage: Main Features

Constantine's coinage is more complicated than that of his immediate predecessors. This was in part due to the greater length of his reign, in part to his revival of the tetarteron, and in part to continued debasement. The tetarteron was now for the first time struck in great quantities, so that it must have played a role in currency comparable to that of the histamenon itself. The coins vary in fineness between twenty-two and nineteen carats,[3] the tendency being naturally for them to decline, and the poor quality of the gold is often visible to the eye. Classes II–IV of his histamena are markedly concave, as are also his miliaresia. A novelty was the introduction of military types, most conspicuously

[1] Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 542; cf. Psellus, vi. 20 (ed. Renauld, I. 127).
[2] Cedrenus, II. 610.
[3] Above, p. 40.

on the silver but also on Class IV of the gold. Although Constantine celebrated triumphs after the suppression of the revolts of Maniaces and Tornikes, he was quite unwarlike by nature and never led an army in the field.

GOLD COINAGE. Four classes of histamena and two of tetartera were struck during the reign, but the accepted list of attributions requires some revision. One of his issues of histamena was attributed to Constantine VIII by Wroth,[4] but the portraiture shows it to belong to Constantine IX, as can also be inferred by the fact of its being slightly debased.[5] Three other types sometimes given to him must on the contrary be disallowed. One of Sabatier's attributions is really a solidus of Constantine VII;[6] another, cited by Wroth, with some hesitation, from the Photiadès catalogue (no. 483), is evidently a misread piece of John II Comnenus.[7] The third[8] is apparently a mistake of Sabatier, or rather of the artist who illustrated his work, for it is a badly designed histamenon of Constantine VIII.

The main characteristics of the varying types of nomismata are set out in Table 25, and little comment on them is required. The portraiture is extremely uniform, and no obvious significance can be attached to the changes in imperial costume. The use of the traditional loros on Classes I and II of the histamenon was a curious revival of the past; it was the last time that this was to appear on Byzantine gold nomismata. The crown on coins of Class IV is more elaborate than usual, and it is surprising to see the emperor wearing a chlamys and at the same time grasping a sword. The varieties of scepter borne by the emperor are discussed elsewhere. Class III of the histamenon revives the Christ type of the last coinage of Basil II and that of Constantine VIII, with the two half-moons in the upper quarters of the cross nimbus. The histamenon types are very uniform, but some varieties are found in the tetartera. The details are noted in the text of the catalogue, though they do not seem to be of any great significance.

The order of issue is clear, the evidence of declining fineness coinciding with the natural evolution of types and the increasing concavity of the coins. Precise dating, on the other hand, is impossible. The first three classes of histamena and both classes of tetartera are common; only the histamena of Class IV, which because of the stars in the reverse field were termed *stellati* in Italy,[9] are rather rare. Hendy has suggested to me that this very conspicuous and unusual feature of Class IV was suggested by one of the most outstanding celestial events in recorded history, the appearance of a supernova in the constellation Taurus on 4 July 1054. Recent research has shown that this immense stellar explosion, which gave rise to the Crab Nebula, probably eclipsed in brilliance even Brahe's supernova

[4] Wroth, II, 492, Type 3 (Pl. LVII. 9–10). He was perhaps influenced by the obverse type, for the crescents in the upper quarters of the nimbus of Christ also occur on histamena of Constantine VIII and the later years of Basil's reign. Sabatier attributed the coin correctly.

[5] See my article, "The Debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century," *BZ*, 47 (1954), 383–4, 392, where the reattribution is made.

[6] Sabatier, II. 158, No. 6 (Pl. XLIX. 9).

[7] Wroth, p. 502, note 1; it is evidently a specimen of Wroth, Pl. LXVI. 12.

[8] Sabatier, II. 158, No. 4 (Pl. XLIX. 7), from his *Iconographie*, Pl. byz. suppl., XXIII. 16. I formerly accepted it as an otherwise unrecorded type (*art. cit.*, 384, No. 5), but have now come round to Bellinger's view that it is a badly designed coin of Constantine VIII, the labarum held by the emperor having been inadvertently replaced by a cross.

[9] Above, p. 59.

TABLE 25

NOMISMATA OF CONSTANTINE IX

Class	Finenesses (millièmes)	Obverse	Reverse
		Histamena	
I	945, 905, 900	Seated Christ	Bust of emperor, wearing traditional loros, holding scepter w. leaved cross and gl. cr. w. patriarchal cross
II	900, 830	Same	Similar, but emp. holds labarum and gl. cr. w. plain cross
III	865, 860, 855	Bust of Christ, two crescents in nimbus, book clasped w. outspread hand	Similar, but emp. wears modified loros and holds scepter w. plain cross and gl. cr.
IV	820, 815, 765	Same, but no crescents in nimbus	Similar, but emp. wears modified chlamys and holds gl. cr. and sword; stars on either side of head
		Tetartera	
I	865	Bust of Christ, plain nimbus, book clasped w. outspread hand	Similar, but emp. holds trefoil scepter and gl. cr.
II	725, 700	Same, but book held from beneath	Same, but labarum instead of trefoil scepter

of 1572 and Kepler's of 1604; the new "guest-star," as the Chinese astronomers termed it, could be seen in broad daylight, and did not disappear till April 1056.[10] Though it is primarily known to us through Chinese astronomical records, and certainly did not make the profound impression on the general public that Halley's comet was to do twelve years later, it could not have escaped the attention of any person interested in astro-

[10] Cf. J. J. L. Duyvendak, N. U. Mayall, and J. H. Oort, "Further Data Bearing on the Identification of the Crab Nebula with the Supernova of 1054 A.D.," *Publications of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific*, 54 (1942), 91–104, where the original texts are translated and discussed. The literature on the subject is considerable.

nomical phenomena[11] and may conceivably have found its way onto the coins. The dates, at all events, seem to agree.

SILVER COINAGE. Two denominations of silver coins were struck during the reign, the full miliaresion of *c.* 3 g. and the two-thirds of *c.* 2 g. The full miliaresion has on the obverse the standing figure of the Virgin and on the reverse that of the emperor. The two-thirds miliaresion has a bust of the Virgin and on the reverse an inscription in six lines across the field. The inscriptions on both denominations include the emperor's family name Monomachus, so their attribution is not in doubt.

The full miliaresia belong to the rather restricted group of Byzantine coins which have inscriptions running from one side of the coin to the other, ΔΕCΠΟΙΝΑ CΩZΟΙC || ΕVCΕΒΗ ΜΟΝΟΜΑΧΟΝ, Δέσποινα σώξοις εὐσεβὴ Μονομάχον, "O Lady, preserve the pious Monomachus."[12] The general types were evidently suggested by the large silver coins of Romanus III, but the emperor here wears military costume—scale armor and a military cloak which is fastened at the throat by a circular brooch and hangs to halfway down the leg—and holds a long cross and the hilt of a sheathed sword, which rests with the point of the scabbard on the ground. They may perhaps have been struck when the rebel Leo Tornikes appeared before the walls of Constantinople in September 1047, but there were too many other occasions in the reign when Constantine must have felt the desirability of the Virgin's protection for this to be more than a conjecture.

There are two varieties of this miliaresion, one only slightly concave, frequently flattened, and large in flan, about 30 mm. at its largest or 24 mm. within the inner circle, the other more strongly concave and smaller, about 25 mm. diameter or 20 mm. within the inner circle. The letters of the obverse inscription on the smaller series are widely spaced, so that they extend above the level of the Virgin's outstretched arms and almost reach her nimbus. The distinction is most easily seen in the left field, where on the large series her hand almost touches the Ι of the word ΔΕCΠΟΙ, while on the small ones it touches the Π. The distinction is not absolute,[13] for there are specimens whose precise class is not easy to determine, but it seems to have meant something and been recognized by the public. The best evidence of this comes from the Oxarve hoard, found in Sweden, which included what appears to have originally formed a single payment of one hundred of these miliaresia in proportions of exactly half and half, there being forty-nine specimens of one group and forty-eight of the other.[14] Since gold payments in this period were

[11] Psellus himself wrote on astronomy, but relied on ancient authors and, so far as I can see, does not mention either the supernova of 1054 or the comet of 1066.

[12] Wroth, p. 502, note 2, cites another variety of this coin from the Photiadès sale catalogue, lot 489, where the inscription is given as +ΘΚΕ ΡΟΗΘΕΙ ΤΩ CΩ ΔΟVΛΩ | ΚΩΝCΤΑΝΤ[ ] ΡΑCΙL[]. It is probably a coin of Michael VII, Class II (below, p. 811, No. 7), with +ΜΙΧΑΗL misread as ΚΩΝCΤΑΝΤ. The type and the rest of the inscription are identical.

[13] Wroth, p. 502, no. 17, describes a specimen of the smaller series as showing the emperor holding a *patriarchal* cross. This is incorrect. The series are to some extent different stylistically, with the standing figures on the large series very tall and that of the Virgin very slender, but they are identical in their iconographical details.

[14] The description of the hoard by Arne does not mention this feature, which I discovered when examining the coins at Stockholm some years ago. Cf. T. J. Arne, "Einige Aufzeichnungen über in Schweden gefundene byzantinische Silbermünzen," in *Studien zur vorgeschichtlichen Archäologie,*

sometimes made half and half in tetartera (flat) and histamena (concave),[15] it looks as if the same were being done here, which if correct would carry with it the implication that there must have been a slight difference in value between the two varieties. Unfortunately the coins have usually survived in too damaged a condition for one to be sure of their weights, and the brittle state of the silver, coupled with the concave fabric, suggests that they may be somewhat debased. No clear deductions regarding their values can consequently be drawn.

The two-thirds miliaresia, which are rather rarer than the full miliaresia, are all flat coins. They form two groups. On one there are no ornaments in the obverse field, while the inscription on the reverse is surmounted by ⁃ — ⁃, the middle stroke being an abbreviation mark, and has the terminal X′ (of MONOMAX′) flanked by ⁃ and ⁃. On the other the head of the Virgin is flanked by two pear-shaped objects of uncertain significance—they occur also on other series[16]—and the inscription is surmounted by ⁂ — ⁂ and the X′ flanked by ⁂ ⁂, i.e., crosses made with pellets. The meaning of these differences is unknown.

Sabatier cites a further silver coin on the authority of Tanini.[17] It is described as having on the obverse a standing emperor holding a long cross and a globus cruciger, with the inscription]MONOMAX, and on the obverse a seated Christ. It is probably a misread coin of some kind, but I am at a loss for a precise identification.

COPPER COINAGE. There are no copper coins bearing the name of Constantine IX. The Anonymous Folles of Classes C and D were probably being struck during his reign, but no precise dating is possible. Wroth attributed to him the Anonymous Folles of Classes G and K, which Miss Thompson subsequently transferred to the periods of Romanus IV and Alexius I.

Alfred Götze zu seinem 60. Geburtstage dargebracht, ed. H. Mötefindt (Leipzig, 1925), 220–4, and my "Harold Hardrada and Byzantine Coin Types in Denmark," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 1 (1966), 130.

[15] Above, p. 39.

[16] See Index III, s.v. 'Virgin'.

[17] Sabatier, II. 159, no. 10, from H. Tanini, *Numismatum imperatorum Romanorum . . . supplementum* (1791), p. 429, whence also Mionnet, *De la rareté et du prix des médailles romaines*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1827), II, 511.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Constantinople NOMISMA HISTAMENON *Class I*		
					✠IhSXISREX REϹNΛ NTIhM Christ seated on wide lyre-backed throne (Type 1 d) facing, bearded, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand turned inwards in blessing, in sling of cloak, l. holds book by upper edge on knee. Triple border of dots	✠CΩNSTA NTh bΛSI LЄYRM Bust of emperor facing, wearing loros of traditional pattern and crown with cross and pendilia, holding in r. hand beaded scepter surmounted by leaved cross; in l., globus surmounted by cross. Triple border of dots	1042–1055
					(a) Patriarchal cross on emperor's globus		
*1a.1	Ꞡ	4.44	29	↓	Concave		
*1a.2	Ꞡ	4.42	30	↓			
1a.3	Ꞡ	4.41	28	↓	A for Λ	Ends ЄYSRM	
1a.4	Ꞡ	4.36	30	↘	A for Λ Flattened	Starts ✠CΩNST NTh	
1a.5	Ꞡ	4.36	29	↓	A for Λ		

1 Coins of Class I are normally either flat or flattened; only a few are clearly concave.
1.1 Whittemore
W. 8–11, R. 1987
1.2–4 Whittemore
1.5 Peirce 1948 from Hirsch via Baldwin vii. 30

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(b) Simple cross, having pelleted ends to limbs and resting on crescent, on emperor's globus		1042–1055
*(1b)	Æ	4.48	27	↘	(Hess-Bank Leu sale 12. iv. 62, lot 597)	Ends ЄЧSRⲘ	
					Class II (concave)		
					Same inscr. and type	+CѠⲚSⲦ AⲚⲦh bAS ILЄЧSRⲘ Similar, but emperor holds in r. labarum, in l., gl. cr.	
					(a) Labarum ⊞		
*2a.1	Æ	4.42	28	↘	И for N		
2a.2	Æ	4.40	28	↓		Ends bASIL[	
2a.3	Æ	4.39	27	↓		Λ for A	
*2a.4	Æ	4.38	28	↓		IAS for bAS	
2a.5	Æ	4.36	29	↘			
2a.6	Æ	4.28	28	↘	Flattened and double struck. Many details of throne omitted	IΛS for bAS	
2a.7	Æ	3.79	29	↓	Flattened	IAS for bAS	

(1b) There was another specimen of this rare variant in the second Apostolo Zeno Sale, lot 2550.

2 Coins of Class II are normally concave, but occasionally flattened. The lettering, especially on the reverse, is notably careless. The coins with unusual forms of labarum, here classed as varieties (b) and (c), were probably struck very early, before the design had become fixed.

2a.1–3 Whittemore
W. 12–15, R. 1988

2a.4 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. ii. 29

2a.5–6 Whittemore

2a.7 Whittemore
Though there is nothing abnormal about the style or fabric, and the coin is certainly of the period, it may be a contemporary counterfeit. The weight is low and there is some discoloration on the reverse to suggest that it may be plated copper.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(b) Labarum ⊞		1042–1055
*2b.1	Æ 4.35	26 ↓	hIS for IhS		
2b.2	Æ 4.34	27 ↓			
			(c) Labarum ⊞		
*2c	Æ 4.39	25 ↘	IhI for IhS	Breaks STA NTh	
			Class III (concave)		
			+IhCXICRCXRCSNΛ NTIhM Bust of Christ Pantocrator (Type VIII c) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having crescent in each upper quarter, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing, in sling of cloak, l. clasps book to breast. Triple border of dots	+CωNST ANT bASI LEYSRM Bust of emperor facing, bearded, wearing simplified loros, collar-piece, and crown with cross and pendilia, holding in r. hand scepter surmounted by cross, in l., gl. cr. Triple border of dots	
3.1	Æ 4.53 with loop attached	28 ↘	Γ for C	ATT for ANT	

2b Peirce 1948 from Raymond vii. 37
W. —, R. —

2b.2 Whittemore

2c Whittemore
W. —, R. —

3 The letters are tiny and always badly formed, especially on the obverse. It is impossible to reproduce all their simplifications and vagaries in print. Some die-sinkers evidently preferred *Constantinos Bas Rm* to *Constant Basileus Rm* for the reverse inscription, but this variant does not seem important enough to justify a separate heading. ATh is commoner than the correct form ANT in CONST ANT.

3.1 Whittemore
W. (Constantine VIII) 6–9, R. 1970–1

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*3.2	N	4.43	27	↘	L for h	ATh for ANT	1042–1055
3.3	N	4.42	27	↓		Reads ATHI NOSbA SRM	
	pierced						
3.4	N	4.41	27	↓	+IhCXL⌋UIXNCΓ NANTIhM	ATHI for ANT	
3.5	N	4.41	27	↘	Letter forms illegible	ATh for ANT	
3.6	N	4.40	29	↓		+CωNS ATh IASI LEIIRN	
3.7	N	4.40	27	↓		Reads ANTI IAS	
*3.8	N	4.40	28	↘		I for b, C for ∈	
3.9	N	4.39	27	↓		ANTI NOSbASRM	
3.10	N	4.39	27	↘		ATh for ANT	
3.11	N	4.39	27	↓	Flattened	ATh for ANT	
3.12	N	4.39	27	↓		+CU NS ATh IASIL CVVAM	
3.13	N	4.38	28	↓	Flattened	ATh I for ANT b	
3.14	N	4.37	27	↓		ATh for ANT	
3.15	N	4.36	28	↓		NTh for ANT	
3.16	N	4.36	27	↘		ATh for ANT	
*3.17	N	4.34	28	↖		ATh for ANT	
3.18	N	4.32	27	↓	Flattened	TS ATh for ST ANT	

3.2 Peirce 1948 from Royall Tyler (Athens) viii. 27
3.3–5 Whittemore
3.6 Peirce 1948 from Raymond ii. 30
3.7 Whittemore
3.8 Swiss Collection 1956
3.9 Whittemore
3.10 Peirce 1948 from Platt iii. 24
3.11 Friend 1957
3.12–13 Whittemore
3.14 Peirce 1948 from Platt xii. 26
3.15–18 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class IV (mainly concave)		
			Same inscr. and type, but no crescents in nimbus	+CωnSTAnT nOSb ASILEYSRM Bust of emperor facing, bearded, wearing jeweled chlamys with collar-piece and crown with cross and pendilia, holding in r. hand, gl. cr., in l., sword. To l. and r., ✻ Triple border of dots	1054(?)–1055
			(a) Large module, concave		
*4a.1	Ɐ 4.43	27 ↓			
*4a.2	Ɐ 4.40	26 ↓			
*4a.3	Ɐ 4.40	27 ↓			
			(b) Small module, flat		
*4b	Ɐ 4.40 pierced	22 ↓	Gospel Book held from beneath		
			(c) Mule of (b) and (a)		
*4c	Ɐ 4.34 pierced	26 ↓	Small die, book held from beneath	Large die	

4 There are two main groups. Coins of (a) have larger dies and are concave; the Gospel Book is held in the usual Pantocrator gesture, with the thumb and fingers separated and pellets showing only on the upper edge and foredge. Coins of (b) have smaller dies and are flat; the book is held from below, with pellets showing on three of its edges. Mules of the two groups occur, so presumably some dies for (a) were made flat. A decision to abandon the concave form may have been made just before Constantine's death, since the histamena of the next reign are flat.

4.1 Peirce 1948
W. —, R. —

4.2 Peirce 1948 from Spink xi. 27

4.3 Peirce 1948 from Spink xii. 36

4b Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. 7, R. —

4c Whittemore
W. 6, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TETARTERON		
			Class I		
			+IhSXISREX RESNA NTIhM Same type, Gospel Book held with outspread hand. Single border of dots	+CωnST AnTh bASI LEYSRM Bust of emperor facing, bearded, wearing jeweled chlamys (without collar) and crown with cross and pendilia, holding in r. hand beaded scepter surmounted by trefoil, in l., gl. cr. Single border of dots	1042–1055
			(a) Broken obv. inscr.		
5a.1	N	4.09	19 ↓	EX omitted	IA for bA
5a.2	N	4.08	19 ↓		IYC for EYS
*5a.3	N	4.05	20 ↓		
*5a.4	N	4.04	17 ↘	Reads ISEX REN	
5a.5	N	4.04	19 ↘		
5a.6	N	4.02	19 ↓	DCX DE for REX RE	+CωnS for +CωnST
5a.7	N	4.02	19 ↓		
5a.8	N	4.02	19 ↓		
*5a.9	N	3.99	18 ↘	EX omitted, ends ThM	
5a.10	N	3.70	18 ↓	RESN off flan	+CωnSTAnT IASIL EY R

5 The letters are more clearly made than those of the histamena, but are often blurred either because of the thickness of the coins or through the use of worn dies.

5a.1 Whittemore
W. 1–2, R. 1985

5a.2 Peirce 1948

5a.3 Peirce 1948 from Spink xi. 27

5a.4 Peirce 1948 from Hirsch vii. 30

5a.5–9 Whittemore

5a.10 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(b) Unbroken obv. inscr.		
*5b.1	Æ	4.03	19	↘	RЄSIⲚ for RЄSN Cross-arms without serifs, pellet in each	+CѠⲚS ΛⲚⲦ hSIΛL ЄЧS Cross linear instead of being formed from 5 pellets	1042–1055
*5b.2	Æ	4.02	18	↓	+IhΓXIΓRCXbCC NΛNTIhⲘ′	+CѠⲚS ΛⲚⲦh IASIL ЄЧSRⲘ	
					Class II		
					Similar inscr. and type, but Gospel Book held from beneath	Similar inscr. and type, but chlamys has collar and emperor holds labarum instead of scepter with trefoil	
6.1	Æ	4.07	19	↓		+CѠⲚ ΛⲚT hOIIL ЄƆⲘ	
*6.2	Æ	4.07	18	↓	+IⲁSXISDCXDCI NΛNTIhⲘ	+CѠⲚ ⲦΛⲚⲦ hOSIL ЄRⲘ	
6.3	Æ	4.06	18	↓		+CѠⲚ ⲁⲚⲦ ROЧL IⲘ	
*6.4	Æ	4.04	18	↓		+CѠⲚ ⲦΛⲚⲦ hOJIL ЄRⲘ	
6.5	Æ	4.03	18	↓	+IⲁSXISRCXRЄS NΛN IhⲘ	+CѠⲚ ΛⲚⲦ hOSIL ЄⲘ	

5b.1 Whittemore
W. 3, R. —
5b.2 Whittemore
6 The inscriptions on Class II are much more carelessly rendered than are those of Class I, and can be only approximately reproduced in print. The final syllable of CѠⲚ[SⲦ]ΛⲚⲦ IⲚOS is normally intended to be present, but the OS has displaced the bA of *basileus*.
6.1 Whittemore
W. 4–5, R. 1986
6.2–3 Whittemore
6.4 Peirce 1948 acq. iii. 31
6.5–6 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
6.6	Æ	4.03	18	↓	+IIhIL⌋RENDCSNAN M	+CWN ANT hOIILE–	1042–1055
6.7	Æ	4.03	18	↓	+I⌋SXIIRCXDYINAN TIhM	+CWN ANT hOSIL EM	
6.8	Æ	4.02	20	↓	+I⌋LXICRCN[ ]IhM	+CWN ANT hOSIL EM	
6.9	Æ	4.01	17	↓	+IJIXICRCXRCCNAИ TIhM	+CUΓ ANT hOSIC[	
6.10	Æ	4.00	18	↓	+I⌋LXICRCXDCCNA NTIhM	+CUA ANT ΠOJILEM	
6.11	Æ	4.00	18	↘	Inscr. illegible	+CWN TANT hOSOL[	
6.12	Æ	3.99	17	↓	+IΛSXISREXRESNAN TIhM	+CWN ANT hOSILEM	
6.13	Æ	3.97	18	↓	+I⌋SXIIREXREINAN TIhM	+CW ANT bASILEYω	
6.14	Æ	3.96	19	↙	+I⌋SXIIREXRGLNAN TIM	+CWA AhT hOSIL[	
					MILIARESION (Concave)		
					+ΔECΠOI NACWZ OIC The Virgin standing on dais, facing, orans, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion. To l., M̄P̄; to r., Θ̄V̄. Double linear border	EVCERH MONOMA XON Emperor standing, facing, wearing scale armor, cloak, and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, long cross with pellet at end of each arm; l. hand on hilt of sheathed sword resting with point on the ground. Double linear border	

6.7 Peirce 1948 from Ratto xi. 29
6.8–9 Whittemore
6.10 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
6.11–14 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(a) Large module		1042–1055
*7a.1	Æ 2.83	31 ↓	No dais		
7a.2	Æ 2.49 pierced	29 ↘			
*7a.3	Æ 2.49 pierced	30 ↘	Flattened	Cloak of emperos omitted	
7a.4	Æ 2.33 cracked	29 ↓			
*7a.5	Æ 2.15 chipped	27 ↓			
7a.6	Æ 2.11 broken	29 ↓	ZO broken away	MAX broken away	
7a.7	Æ 2.09	28 ↓			
			(b) Small module		
7b.1	Æ 2.86 broken and repaired	29 ↘	Flattened		
*7b.2	Æ 2.30 pierced	26 ↓			
*7b.3	Æ 1.92 pierced and worn	26 ↓	]ΔΕCΠΟΙ N[		

7a.1 Whittemore
W. 16, R. —
7a.2 Peirce 1948 from Vogel Sale 25 iii. 29, lot 1048
7a.3 Schindler 1960 from Egger 1912 from collection of Fenerly Bey
7a.4–5 Whittemore
7a.6 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
7a.7 Peirce 1948 from Royall Tyler vi. 26
7b.1 Whittemore
W. 17, R. 1989
This coin, which, besides having been mounted, is badly cracked and discolored, is perhaps a contemporary forgery of plated copper.
7b.2–3 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TWO-THIRDS MILIARESION		
			(Flat)		
			HRΛAXЄP NITICA Bust of the Virgin orans, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion. To l., MP To r., ΘV Double linear border	◄ – ► ΘKЄR,Θ, KωNCTAN TINωΔЄC ΠOTHTω MONOMA ◄ X′ ► Double linear border	1042–1055
			(a) No ornaments beside nimbus; no crosses on rev.		
*8a.1	Æ 2.07 pierced	24 ↓			
8a.2	Æ 2.05 pierced	24 ↘	Ends NI[		
8a.3	Æ 2.03 broken	23 ↓		Last letters of lines 1–3 broken away	
*8a.4	Æ 2.03 broken	24 ↓			
8a.5	Æ 1.70 broken	24 ↓			
			(b) Two pear-shaped objects beside nimbus; rev. inscr. starts ⁘ – ⁘ and ends ⁘ X′ ⁘		
(8b)	Æ 1.49 clipped	20 ↓	(W. 18)		

8a.1 Friend 1957
W. —, R. 1990
8a.2 Swiss Collection 1956
8a.3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
8a.4 Schindler 1960 from Egger 1917
8a.5 Whittemore
(8b) This variety seems to be rarer than 8a. There is a second specimen in the BN (1.67 g., worn), and I saw a third one (2.10 g.) in trade in 1962.

THEODORA

Sole ruler 11 January 1055 – 31 August 1056

(Augusta 1042–1056)

Theodora's sole reign dated from the death of Constantine IX on 11 January 1055. Since she was now seventy-four years of age it was generally expected that she would take a husband and again retire into the background. But she had learned from her sister's experience that emperors acquiring the throne by marriage were commonly ungrateful, and court and populace alike were somewhat dismayed when they saw her assuming the full responsibilities of government, appointing officials, hearing cases, and issuing edicts as if she were a man. She proved, in fact, a more capable sovereign than many others of her century, and her nineteen months of rule were relatively free from trouble. But in the summer of 1056 she fell seriously ill, and was persuaded by her advisors to crown as co-emperor an elderly noble, Michael Bringas, or at least to designate him as her successor. She died on the last day of August 1056, on the eve of the opening of a new indiction.[1]

Gold was minted in abundance during Theodora's reign, despite her reputation for parsimony, and her coins are surprisingly common. Her claim that she had always been rightfully empress allowed her to avoid the usual accession donatives, which must have been a considerable advantage to the treasury. She struck only one type each of histamenon and tetarteron, the histamenon showing some small variations in design which are noted in the text of the catalogue. The careful delineation of the details of the imperial robes on both the nomisma and the tetarteron is worthy of note. The former shows very clearly the curious shieldlike fold of the simplified loros bearing a cross which frequently occurs in the costume of empresses in the second half of the eleventh century.[2] Dumbarton Oaks possesses a very fine four-solidus gold bulla of Theodora on which she wears a simplified loros, with high pearl collar as on her tetartera, and holds a labarum and a globus surmounted by a trefoil.[3]

There is only one type of silver coin, showing the bust of the Virgin *orans* (labelled Blachernitissa) on the obverse and an inscription in the field on the reverse. It continues the last issue of Constantine IX and was to be continued by Michael VI. Specimens are very rare; the only ones known to me are those in the Bibliothèque Nationale and at Dumbarton Oaks. Schlumberger and Dieudonné, who at various times published the Paris specimen, both attributed it to the reign of Constantine IX, regarding it as a

[1] Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 611–12.

[2] See above, p. 125. It was wrongly identified by Ebersolt with the θωράκιον.

[3] Grierson, "Byzantine Gold Bullae, with a Catalogue of Those at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 249–50, No. 3 (with illustrated enlargement).

companion piece to the coin of this emperor with the Blachernitissa inscription.[4] The discovery of a similar coin of Michael VI has reduced the force of this argument, and Wroth is surely correct in ascribing the piece to the reign of Theodora alone. The silver coins give her the title *despoina*, while on the gold she is styled *augousta*, but at this time no distinction was made between them.

There are no copper coins bearing Theodora's name, but Class D or E of the Anonymous Folles was being produced by the mint at about this period. Class C was attributed to her by Wroth, but it is much earlier, belonging to the 1040's.

[4] G. Schlumberger, "Une monnaie inédite de l'imperatrice Theodora," *RN*[3], 13 (1895), 88–90 (= his *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine*, I. 311–13); A. Dieudonné in *RN*[4], 3 (1899), 197–8 (Pl. III. 17); Wroth, pp. 506–7 (Pl. LX. 5).

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople NOMISMA HISTAMENON		
			✝IhSXISDCX RCSN ΛNTIhM Christ standing on square souppedion (Type IV b) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book, with ∴ on cover, by lower edge. Double border of dots	✝ΘЄΟΔѠPΛ ΛVΓO VCTΛ To l., Theodora standing, facing, wearing crown with pinnacles and pendilia, divitision, and loros with collar-piece and shield-like ornament; r. hand on breast. To r., the Virgin standing, facing, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion and holding l. hand up before body. To l. of her head, M̄ To r., Θ̄ Between them they hold labarum on shaft, with pellet below. Double border of dots	1055–1056

1 The great majority of the histamena have a pellet on the labarum shaft, the labarum design ⊠, and pellets in the nimbus of Christ. There are much rarer varieties with either no pellet or a pellet and a wedge on the labarum shaft, or with labarum ⊠, or with no pellets in the nimbus. That these represent something more than a die-sinker's vagaries is suggested by the fact that all specimens with ⊠ have also no pellets in the nimbus. I have therefore made of them separate groups, though they may represent no more than uncertainty over details when the design was first introduced. The lettering is very poor, with R approximating to D, the Є nearly always C, and M̄ usually rendered Ꙗ. It is a clear M̄, however, on coins of groups (c) and (d), which supports the view of their being early in date.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(a) Labarum ⊠, pellet on shaft; pellets in nimbus of Christ		1055–1056
*1a.1	Æ 4.46	26 ↘		ωP for ωPΛ A for Λ later	
1a.2	Æ 4.46	24 ↓	Letters blurred through double striking		
1a.3	Æ 4.45	24 ↓	Begins IhIXIIDCX	IΛ for PΛ	
*1a.4	Æ 4.44	24 ↓	+IhCXICDCX DC⌉N ΛNTIhM	IΛ for PΛ	
*1a.5	Æ 4.42	24 ↓	Ends TIM		
1a.6	Æ 4.40	26 ↓	Letters blurred	• for Θ	
1a.7	Æ 4.38 pierced and plugged	24 ↓			
1a.8	Æ 4.38	24 ↙		• for Θ	
1a.9	Æ 4.36 pierced	25 ↓		ΛΓV for ΛVΓ	
1a.10	Æ 4.34 pierced	26 ↓		IΛ for PΛ	
1a.11	Æ 4.08 pierced and plugged	25 ↓			
			(b) As last, but ▲ beneath pellet on shaft		
*(1b)	Æ	25	(R. 1997)		

1a.1 Peirce 1948
W. 4–5, R. —
1a.2–3 Whittemore
1a.4 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vi. 28
1a.5–6 Whittemore
1a.7 Friend 1957
1a.8–11 Whittemore
(1b) Ratto 1997, now at Milan, had previously appeared in the Bement Sale, lot 1736.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(c) Labarum ⚅, pellet on shaft; no pellets in nimbus		1055–1056
*1c.1	Æ 4.43	26 ↓	+ⅠⅿXⅿCⅿCSX ⅿCS ⅿTⅠhⅿ		
1c.2	Æ 4.40	26 ↓	+ⅠhSXⅠSRЄX DCJN ΛⅿTⅠhⅿ		
1c.3	Æ 4.39	25 ↙	Ends DCSⅿΛⅿThⅿ	ⅠΛ for PΛ	
			(d) As last, but no pellet on shaft		
*1d	Æ 4.33 pierced	24 ↘			
			TETARTERON		
			No inscription Bust of Christ (Type Vf) facing, with long pointed beard and cross nimbus having ·· in arms, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised before breast in blessing, l. holds book from beneath. To l., IC To r., XC Single border of dots	+OЄOΔω P ΛVΓOV Bust of Theodora facing, wearing crown with cross and pendilia, loros of modified type, with central ornamental strip, and high pearl collar. In r. hand, scepter with pellets, in l., gl. cr. Single border of dots	

1c.1 Whittemore
W. —, R. —
1c.2 Peirce 1948 from Spink viii. 28
1c.3 Whittemore
1d Whittemore
W. —, R. —
2 The difficulty of forming the tiny letters necessary for the tetarteron has now caused the abandonment of any obverse inscription, but one for the reverse was still required. The letters are, as usual, very badly formed; the initial Θ of Theodora's name is almost invariably an O and the P is usually either an Ⅰ or omitted.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
2.1	Æ	4.07	19	↓		+ΟΕΟΔΩΙΙ ΛΥΓΟΥ	1055–1056
*2.2	Æ	4.04	19	↓		I for P	
2.3	Æ	4.04	18	↘		Ends OVC	
*2.4	Æ	4.03	18	↘			
2.5	Æ	4.03	18	↓		+ΟΕΟΔ Λ ΛΥΓΟΥC	
2.6	Æ	4.02	20	↘		+·ΕΟϒω ΛΥΓΥC	
2.7	Æ	4.02	20	↘		P omitted	
*2.8	Æ	4.01	20	↓		P omitted; ends ΛΥΓΟC	
2.9	Æ	4.00	18	↘		Ends OVC	
*2.10	Æ	4.00	20	↓		P omitted	
2.11	Æ	3.98	19	↓		P omitted; ends OVC	
2.12	Æ	3.97	18	↘		I for P Ends OVC	
2.13	Æ	3.95	17	↓		P omitted	
*2.14	Æ	3.87	18	↓		+ΘΕΟΔΩD ΛΥΓΟΥCT	
					TWO-THIRDS MILIARESION		
					HRΛΛXEP NITICΛ Bust of the Virgin orans, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion. To l., MP̄ To r., ΘV̄	+ΘR̄E ROHΘEI ΟΕΟΔΩΡΑ ΔECΠOINH ΤΗΠΟΡΦV ΡΟΓENN – TΩ –	
					Double linear border	Double linear border	
*3	Æ	1.41 pierced	21	↓			

2.1–3 Whittemore
W. 1–3, R. 1996
2.4 Whittemore
The color of the metal of this coin is poorer than usual.
2.5 Peirce 1948 from Spink xii. 36
2.6 Peirce 1948 from Ciani i. 24
2.7–8 Whittemore
2.9 Peirce 1948
2.10–11 Whittemore
2.12 Friend 1957
2.13 Whittemore
2.14 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vi. 28
3 Swiss Collection 1956
W. pp. 506–7, R. —

MICHAEL VI Stratioticus[1]

31 August 1056 – 30 August 1057

Though Psellus tells us that Michael VI was crowned emperor while Theodora was still alive,[2] it was not till 31 August, after her death, that his accession was proclaimed in the city.[3] He was elderly and incompetent, and his tactless treatment of a number of high military officials provoked a rebellion in Asia Minor in the summer of 1057, Isaac Comnenus being proclaimed emperor at *Gunaria* near Kastamouni on 8 June.[4] After negotiations in which the historian Psellus played a leading role, Isaac agreed to accept the lesser office of Caesar and a promise of the succession, but Michael's position in the capital had already been undermined and on 30 August he abdicated, assuming as was customary the monastic habit. Isaac entered the capital on the evening of the 31st and was crowned the next day.[5] Michael died early in the new reign.[6]

The histamenon of Michael VI is one first satisfactorily published by Wroth[7] but ascribed by him to Michael V. The obverse type is a bust of Christ; the reverse shows the coronation of Michael by the Virgin, like the coins of Romanus III. Two varieties are known, one with pellets and the other with square jewels in the arms of the cross in Christ's nimbus. The attribution has been discussed already.[8] The transfer to Michael V of the histamenon formerly ascribed to Michael VI makes it reasonable to give the one with the emperor and the Virgin to Michael VI in exchange. The coin is surprisingly rare for a reign that lasted as long as a year.

Michael VI's tetartera are on the other hand fairly common. The obverse shows the bust of the Virgin *orans*, without inscription, this feature being carried on from Class II of Theodora's tetartera; the reverse shows the emperor standing. The coins give him the title of *autocrator*, which he also bears on his histamena; it is rare on the coins of the period, but it helped to differentiate his issues from those of Michael IV and Michael V, and it has been argued that he used the title because, unlike the two preceding Michaels,

[1] Michael's family name was Bringas (Βρίγγας), but he is generally known by the nickname Stratioticus. Psellus calls him Michael the Aged.

[2] Psellus, vi (Theodora), 21 (ed. Renauld, II. 82).

[3] Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 612. It is possible, in view of the nature of Theodora's sudden illness, that she associated Michael with her on the 31st and died later in the day.

[4] *Ibid.*, II. 622–3.

[5] *Ibid.*, II. 636–8.

[6] Psellus, *Chron.*, vii (Michael VI), 43 (ed. Renauld, II. 110).

[7] Wroth, p. 498, No. 1 (Pl. LVIII. 5); a misread specimen had been earlier attributed to Michael VII (Banduri, *Numismat. imperat. Roman.*, II. 751 = Mionnet. II. 525 = Sabatier, II. 175, no. 3). Wroth's conjecture (p. 498, note 1) that Banduri's ΔVKOC was a misreading for AVTOC(PAƬ) is entirely convincing.

[8] Above, p. 721.

he did not have to share power with a princess of the Macedonian dynasty. The tetartera are of only 16/17 carat gold, their poor quality being very evident to the eye.[9]

The only known silver coin of Michael VI is a two-thirds miliaresion, now at Dumbarton Oaks, which was first published by Bertelè.[10] It is of the same type as the two-thirds miliaresia of Constantine IX and of Theodora, having on the obverse a bust of the Virgin orans and on the other an inscription in several lines running across the field. Although this gives the emperor no titles other than those of *orthodoxos* and *despotes*, its close resemblance to the other two coins, and in particular its use of the epithet *Blachernitissa* with the bust of the Virgin, justifies our ascribing it to Michael VI.

The coin is remarkable in its use of the title *orthodoxos*. This otherwise occurs only once in Byzantine numismatics, on the similar silver coin of Michael VI's successor Isaac I. Bertelè has argued that it was in some sort a reflection of the schism of 1054: a firm affirmation of his orthodoxy by the Byzantine emperor in the face of Roman pretensions. Laurent would see in it not so much an affirmation of the emperor's orthodoxy as an appeal devised by the ambitious Patriarch Michael Cerularius that the emperor should show himself orthodoxy personified.[11] Although the epithet formed part of the coronation *laudes* and might be used by any emperor—it is applied to Alexander, for example, on his mosaic portrait in Saint Sophia and to Romanus II on a small silver cross in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection—its use on coins by two successive emperors in the decade following 1054 must surely have some significance, and Bertelè's interpretation seems to me an acceptable one.

There are no copper coins bearing Michael VI's name. Wroth assigned to him the Anonymous Folles of Class F, which Miss Thompson would transfer to Constantine X. Either Classes E or F may in fact have been struck while Michael was on the throne, though they cannot be limited to any particular reign.

[9] Grierson, "Notes on the Fineness of the Byzantine Solidus," *BZ*, 54 (1961), 95–6. This low figure proves that the coins belong to Michael VI, not, as their commonness might suggest, to Michael IV.

[10] T. Bertelè, "Un riflesso numismatico dello scisma d'oriente," *EPANOΣ. Raccolta di scritti in onore del Prof. Casimiro Adami* (Verona, 1941), 218–21.

[11] V. Laurent, "Le titre d'empereur orthodoxe et le sens de son emploi dans la numismatique," *Cronica numismatică și arheologică*, 19 (1945), 35–41.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople NOMISMA HISTAMENON		
			+IЍ⌋XI⌋RCXRЄϛN ΛNTIhⲘ Bust of Christ Pantocrator (Type VIII c) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having • or ■ in arms, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing, in sling of cloak, l. clasps book to breast. Double border of dots	+ⲘIXΛ HLΛЧ⌉OCR Λ⌉ To l., half figure of emperor facing, bearded, wearing jeweled chlamys, with end draped over l. arm, and crown with cross and pendilia, holding r. hand to breast and gl. cr. in l. To r., half-figure of the Virgin facing, wearing tunic and maphorion, holding l. hand before her and crowning emperor with r. Between their heads, M̄ Θ̄ Double border of dots	1056–1057
			(a) • in arms of cross; no fringe to hem of chlamys		
*1a.1	Ⱥ 4.45	24 ↓		Ends CR⌉; Ō for Θ̄	
*1a.2	Ⱥ 4.42	25 ↙			

1 The letters are badly formed, and can be only approximately reproduced in print.
1a.1 Peirce 1948 from Cahn
W. —, R. —
1a.2 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(b) ■ in arms of cross; fringe of three tassels to hem of chlamys		1056–1057
1b.1	Æ 4.44	26 ↓	Ends IhIM	Ō for Θ̄	
1b.2	Æ 4.40	25 ↓	Ɔ for R	+MXA HJA4 TOCRT –M̄ for M̄Θ̄	
*1b.3	Æ 4.34	25 ↓			
			TETARTERON		
			No inscription Bust of the Virgin orans, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion. To l., M̄P̄ To r., Θ̄V̄ Single border of dots	+MIXAHA AVTOC RATʼ Emperor standing facing on cushion, wearing loros of modified type and crown with cross and pendilia, holding in r. hand long cross, in l., akakia. Single border	
*2.1	Æ 4.03	20 ↓	Same die as 2.3	Same die as 2.3	
2.2	Æ 4.00	20 ↙		L for Λ	
2.3	Æ 3.89	19 ↓	Same die as 2.1	Same die as 2.1	
*2.4	Æ 3.28	18 ↓		L for Λ	

1b.1–3 Whittemore
W. (Michael V) 1, R. —
2.1 Friend 1957
W. 1–2, R. 2004
2.2 Whittemore
2.3 Peirce 1948 from Ratto 9. xii. 30, lot 2004 ex Vogel 1050 ex Horsky 4887 This coin
2.4 Peirce 1948 from Glendining sale 9. iii. 31, lot 660

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TWO-THIRDS MILIARESION		
			[HRΛAXЄP] NITICΛ Bust of the Virgin orans, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion. To l., $\overline{\text{MP}}$ To r., $\overline{\text{ΘV}}$ Double linear border	◄ – ► +ΘKЄ ROHΘЄI MIXAH[Λ OPΘOΔ[O ZωΔЄC ΠOTH ◄ • ► Double linear border	1056–1057
*3	Æ 1.65 chipped	24 ↓			

3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. —, R. —

ISAAC I Comnenus

1 September 1057 – 22 November 1059

Isaac was acclaimed emperor in June 1057, but he no doubt dated his reign from his occupation of Constantinople and his coronation by the patriarch on 1 September.[1] He was a vigorous reformer, and soon made himself unpopular by abolishing useless offices at court, cancelling alienations from the imperial domain, curtailing the incomes of the monks, and finally deposing that most arrogant of Byzantine clerics, Michael Cerularius. But he was no longer a young man, and a narrow escape from death in September 1059 when a tree, against which he had been leaning a few minutes before, was struck by lightning, seems to have shaken his nerve. A critical illness almost immediately afterward forced him to take thought for the future. His son Manuel had died before him and his brother John refused the throne, whereupon he passed over his other relations and chose Constantine Ducas as his successor, though without formally naming him emperor or abdicating himself. This created an extremely awkward situation, and after much hesitation Constantine was persuaded to clothe himself in the imperial vestments and was accepted as emperor by the Senate.[2] Isaac thereupon abdicated and retired to the monastery of Studion, where he died exactly a year later.[3] The date of the abdication is not recorded by any of our major authorities, but a recently discovered chronological note in MS *Athenensis graecus* 1429, fol. 45, gives it precisely as Monday, 22 November, in the thirteenth indiction, i.e., in 1059.[4] There is no authority for the date 25 December given in most modern works.

The gold coinage of Isaac I was unfavorably commented upon by contemporaries because of its ostentatiously military character.[5] There are two types of histamenon. On one (Class I) the emperor holds a labarum with his right hand and rests his left hand on the hilt of his sheathed sword, while on the other (Class II) there is no labarum and he holds his drawn sword over his right shoulder. The first type corresponds fairly closely to that used by Constantine IX for his large silver coins, but the second type, with a naked

[1] Cedrenus, Bonn ed., II. 637.

[2] Psellus, vii (Constantine X), 9–13 (ed. Renauld, II. 143–4), a vivid account of events in which the historian played a leading role. The account of the actual abdication is on pp. 129ff., but as usual there are no dates.

[3] Nicephorus Bryennius, i. 5 (Bonn ed., p. 23).

[4] P. Gautier, "Monodie inédite de Michel Psellos sur le basileus Andronic Doucas," *REB*, 24 (1966), 156–7. This date had been arrived at by Muralt on quite other grounds, and is preferable to that of 24 November proposed by Polemis. Cf. D. I. Polemis, "Notes on Eleventh Century Chronology (1059–1081)," *BZ*, 58 (1965), 61.

[5] Scylitzes Cont., in Bonn ed. of Cedrenus, II. 641; Zonaras, xviii. 4. 2 (Bonn ed., III. 665–6). Similarly Matthew of Edessa, ii. 79 (*Chronique de Mathieu d'Édesse (962–1136)*, trans. E. Dulaurier [Paris, 1858], 104–5).

sword, was wholly new. It was this which particularly caused offense, for it seemed to imply that the emperor believed he owed his throne to his military qualities, not to divine decree.

There is no definite evidence to determine the order of issue. Wroth rather tentatively put Class I after Class II, on the ground that its reverse type might have suggested that of one issue of Constantine X. It could also be reasonably argued that the type with the drawn sword would have come first, the other being introduced later as a concession to public feeling. One detail of the obverse type, however, points strongly the other way. Both classes have what is essentially the same representation of a seated Christ, but on coins of Class I the Gospel Book held by Christ is invariably, at least as far as my records go, decorated ⊠, while on Class II it is normally decorated ⊠. Some coins of Class II, however, have ⊠, and the simplest way of accounting for them is to assume that when this class was introduced, the mint decided to use up old dies with ⊠ before going over to those approved for the new one. To this argument may be added the fact that the inscriptions on Class I are usually a little more correct than those on Class II. Although these considerations are not decisive, and may perhaps be outweighed by other evidence (e.g., that of hoards) still to be discovered, they seem for the present to justify a reversal of the accepted order.

There was only a single issue of tetartera, showing the emperor holding a globus cruciger and sheathed sword. Specimens are rather rare, perhaps in consequence of the large issues under Theodora and Michael VI.

The silver is extremely rare; only two specimens at Paris[6] and the one at Dumbarton Oaks seem to be known. It is of the usual module for a two-thirds miliaresion, and has on the obverse the facing bust of Christ and on the reverse an inscription in six lines across the field. Like the similar coin of Michael VI, it is remarkable in that it gives the emperor the title "orthodox."

No copper coinage bearing Isaac's name is known. The rather rare Anonymous Folles of Class E were assigned to his reign by both Wroth and Miss Thompson, but the subsequent discovery of a specimen overstruck on a signed coin of Constantine X puts them a few years later.

[6] One was published by Wroth, p. 513 (Pl. LX. 14), and previously by Schlumberger, "Monnaies, bulle et bague byzantine inédites," *RN*³, 7 (1889), 261–2 (= his *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine*, I. 61–2).

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Constantinople HISTAMENON (concave) *Class I* Emperor with sheathed sword		
					+IЄSXIS⊓CX RCNA NTIhM Christ seated on backless throne (Type III) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised to side in blessing, l. holds book, with ⊠ on cover, by spine on knee. Double border of dots	+ICAAKIOC RACIAЄ VCPWM Emperor standing facing, bearded, wearing scale armor, cloak, and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, labarum; l. hand on hilt of sheathed sword resting with point on the ground. Double border of dots	1051–1059
1.1	AV	4.41	28	↓	ƨ for S Flattened	RAIA for RACIA Same die as 1.3	
*1.2	AV	4.39	28	↓	+IЄCXIEhEX ⊓EJN ANTIhM	RI[ ]WM	
*1.3	AV	4.39	26	↓	+[ ]XIShCX ⊓ChN ANTIhM	RAIA for RACIA Same die as 1.1	
1.4	AV	4.38	26	↓			

1.1 Peirce 1948 from Vogel Sale, lot 1051
W. 4, R. 2008
1.2 Peirce 1948 from Schulman ii. 28
1.3 Peirce 1948
1.4 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
			Emperor with drawn sword		
			Same inscr. and type, but Gospel Book ornamented ⊠	⊕ІСΛΛКІОСРΛ СІΛЄVСРѰ⋔′ Emperor standing facing, as before, but grasps scabbard with l. hand and holds sword in r. on his r. shoulder. Double border of dots	1057–1059
*2.1	Ѧ 4.47	27 ↙	Begins ⊕ІΔ		
2.2	Ѧ 4.43	27 ↓			
2.3	Ѧ 4.41	24 ↓			
*2.4	Ѧ 4.37	26 ↓	⊕ІΔІХІЄRСХ RІ⅂NΛ N⅂ІΛ⋔ Book with ⊠		
*2.5	Ѧ 4.37	25 ↙	Ꞓ for Λ	Ꞓ for Λ	
2.6	Ѧ 4.36	25 ↓	ƨ for S Flattened	Ꞓ for Λ	
2.7	Ѧ 4.33	27 ↘			
2.8	Ѧ 4.25 pierced	27 ↓	ƨ for S Book with ⊠		

2.1 Whittemore
W. 2–3, R. 2007
2.2 Friend 1957
2.3 Shaw 1947
2.4–6 Whittemore
2.7 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vi. 28
2.8 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TETARTERON		
			+IЍSXISRCX RCSNA NTIhⲘ Bust of Christ (Type VIId) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak; l. holds book from beneath. Single border of dots	+ICΛΛKIO C RΛCIΛ ЄVCPM As Class I of histamenon, but emperor holds gl. cr. instead of labarum. Single border of dots	1057–1059
3.1	Æ 4.01	19 ↘			
*3.2	Æ 3.97	20 ↘			
*3.3	Æ 3.94	19 ↓	Λ for A		
			TWO-THIRDS MILIARESION		
			No inscription Bust of Christ facing, as on tetarteron, but two pellets in each arm of cross and in field l., IC̄ In field r., X̄C̄ Double linear border	⊸ + ⊸ KЄPOHΘ, ICAAKIω OPΘO[Δ]OΞω ΔЄCΠOT[H TωKOM[NH [⊸ Nω ⊸] Double linear border	
*4	Æ 1.86 encrusted	23 ↓			

3.1 Whittemore
W. 1, R. 2006
3.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
3.3 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vii. 30
4 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. p. 513, R. —
The inscription is partly obscured by adhering metal, probably from another coin, and there is partial doubling of letters and of the + above, so that the top line seems to read ⊸ + – ⊸, owing to double striking.

CONSTANTINE X Ducas[1]

23 November 1059 – 23 May 1067

Constantine X's reign began on 23 November 1059, the day after Isaac's abdication, when he was formally crowned.[2] He was a man of very mediocre capacity, and his reign lasted as long as it did more through the absence of any serious competitors than as a result of any natural talents of his own. Even Psellus, who was deeply attached to him and praises his modesty, kindliness, and fair-mindedness, admits that his military economies were ill timed and largely responsible for serious reverses during Constantine's own reign and major disasters under his successors. He relied greatly for support on his brother John, whom he created Caesar and who was to play a prominent role in public affairs till his death in the late 1080's.[3] When the emperor fell seriously ill in October 1066 it was John Ducas who exercised the regency in association with the Patriarch John Xiphilinus. Before the end of 1066 Constantine recovered sufficiently to resume power, but early in 1067 he fell ill again and died on 23 May,[4] while still in his early sixties.

Soon after his accession Constantine conferred the rank of Augusta on his masterful wife Eudocia Macrembolitissa, niece of the Patriarch Michael Cerularius, and she is associated with him on some of his silver and copper coins. He also associated his sons Constantius and Michael (VII) with him as Augusti, but since they do not appear on his coins the constitutional complications that resulted can be left for discussion till the next reign.

GOLD COINAGE. Constantine's gold coinage presents few problems of identification, since his personal name is almost always accompanied by that of his family (KΩN RACIΛ O ΔOUK, i.e., Κωνσταντῖνος βασιλεὺς ὁ Δούκας, or variant). Two types of histamenon[5] were struck, Class I showing on the obverse Christ seated on a square-backed throne and on the reverse a standing figure of Constantine, Class II showing Christ seated on a lyre-backed throne and a representation of the Virgin crowning the emperor. Class I forms two groups, Class I(b) differing from Class I(a) in the presence of a large pellet on the staff of the labarum held by the emperor. The order of striking of the two main classes cannot

[1] See D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London, 1968), 28–34.

[2] The day is given by a chronological note in MS *Athenensis graecus* 1429, fol. 45 (P. Gautier, "Monodie inédite de Michel Psellos sur le basileus Andronic Doucas," *REB*, 24 [1966], 156–7).

[3] Polemis, *op. cit.*, 34–41; B. Leib, "Jean Doukas, césar et moine: son jeu politique à Byzance de 1067 à 1081," *Analecta Bollandiana*, 68 (1950), 163–79.

[4] Gautier, *art. cit.*, 156–7. The positive statement of the note cited by Gautier is to be preferred to the 21st (traditionally accepted) or 22nd (proposed by Polemis, "Notes on Eleventh Century Chronology," *BZ*, 58 [1965], 62–3).

[5] Sabatier, II. 165–6, Nos. 1, 6 (Pl. L. 2, 6), has seriously muddled Constantine's gold coinage, interchanging the obverses and reverses of the two types of histamena and making one of them a silver instead of a gold coin.

be fixed with certainty, since there is no satisfactory hoard evidence and that of fineness is inconclusive.[6] Wroth put Class I first, on the ground that the standing figure of the emperor might have been suggested by that of Isaac's coinage. Bellinger reversed this order on the ground that the obverse of Eudocia's histamena continued that of Class I, with Christ seated on a square-backed throne. I have, though not without hesitation, reverted to Wroth's arrangement. The lettering on Class I is bolder and clearer than that on Class II, if not noticeably more correct. On coins of Class II the emperor is sometimes shown as an older man, with a much longer beard, and the distinct element of characterized portraiture on such coins is not a feature one can neglect. Finally, Bellinger's typological reasoning is not really valid, for Eudocia's "Christ on square-backed throne" is different iconographically from that of Constantine X, since Christ raises his right hand in front of his body instead of having it in the sling of his cloak, and he holds the Gospel Book by its spine instead of by its top.

The tetarteron is surprisingly rare for so long a reign. The reverse type shows the emperor wearing a loros and holding in his right hand a globus cruciger, while with the left he grasps a rather indistinct object which Wroth described as "sheath of sword (or mappa)." The same object is shown on one of his two types of follis. It differs from the sword-hilt held by Constantine IX on his miliaresia, however, in that there is no cross-piece, and I doubt if a sword would be held by an emperor wearing a loros. It is therefore here described as an akakia.

SILVER COINAGE. Constantine X's silver coins are also easy to identify. The full miliaresion, which is very rare,[7] is modelled on those of Basil II and Constantine VIII, with Eudocia Macrembolitissa's name and bust replacing those of Constantine VIII. The two-thirds miliaresia, which bear his family name, are all of the same type, with the Virgin standing and an inscription in five lines, but they form two main groups according to their obverse inscription, +ΘΕΟΤΟΚ' ΡΟΗΘ[or +ΘΚΕ ΡΟΗΘ', and several smaller ones according to the symbols beside the Virgin's head or above the inscription on the reverse. The one-third miliaresion exists in two varieties, one with an inscription including his family name and the other attributable to Constantine X because it spells his name ΚΩΝ, the form used on all his other coins, instead of CΩN, the form used under Constantine VIII and Constantine IX. The substitution of Greek for Latin letters in coin inscriptions after the middle years of the eleventh century is a phenomenon whose importance has been noted by Veglery and Zacos.[8]

COPPER COINAGE. Constantine X's reign saw the revival, after some eighty years of purely anonymous issues, of a copper coinage bearing the name and effigy of the emperor. Two types were struck, Class 1 having the standing figures of Constantine and Eudocia, Class 2 the bust of Constantine alone. The order of issue is certain, for specimens of Class 2

[6] The coins are of about 17½ to 18½ carats fine (Grierson, "The Debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century," *BZ*, 47 [1954], 385, 393).

[7] I know of only four specimens: (1) that published below, p. 771, No. 4; (2) one in the BN (2.39 g.); (3) one formerly in the Hollschek collection at Vienna and published by H. Longuet in *NZ*, 77 (1957), 47, No. 288, Pl. IV. 288; (4) one in the G. Hirsch (Munich) sale No. XII, 25. iv. 57, lot 654. There is a further specimen in the BN of doubtful authenticity.

[8] See Introduction, p. 184.

are sometimes found overstruck on those of Class 1. It is presumably to Eudocia's influence that the breach with tradition must be ascribed, since the fact that she also appears on Constantine X's miliaresion and was in due course to issue histamena in 1067 and to figure on much of the coinage of Romanus IV's reign are all evidence of her anxiety to be brought before public attention in this way. Hendy's proposal to attribute the signed coins to a mint at Thessalonica, with which I do not agree, and the apparent anomaly in the order of precedence in Class 1, with Eudocia instead of her husband occupying the place of honor, have been discussed elsewhere.[9]

Wroth attributed to Constantine X the Anonymous Folles of Class D. Miss Thompson assigned to him Class F, but this is too rare a type for so long a reign. It has been argued above[10] that Classes C–F belong to the 1040's and 1050's, but that their sequence did not coincide with the changes in sovereigns over those decades.

[9] Above, pp. 641–3, 110.
[10] Above, pp. 639.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople HISTAMENON (concave) *Class I* Christ seated on square-backed throne		
			+IЍSXISRCX RCϽN ΛNTIhⱮ Christ seated on square-backed throne (Type II a) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book, by upper edge, on knee. Double border of dots	+KШNRΛCΛ OΔOU KΛC Emperor standing on cushion, facing, bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, labarum; in l., gl. cr. Double border of dots	1059–1067
			(a) No pellet on shaft of labarum		
*1a.1	A/ 4.46	28 ↓	Begins +IЍIXI⅃, A for Λ	RΛC,Λ, for RΛCΛ	
1a.2	A/ 4.42	26 ↘	I for S and ϽS	RΛC,Λ,	

1 On coins of Class I, Constantine's beard is usually short and rather pointed, and the portrait has only a limited degree of characterization. The cross on the globus cruciger is normally formed by four pellets (⁘). The letters are carelessly formed, and the variants impossible to reproduce in print. The S and Ͻ of the obverse inscription are often no more than vertical strokes, sometimes with an attached bar or hook (Γ, I, J, etc.).

In addition to the coins listed in the text, there are three forgeries in the Collection: (1) a contemporary counterfeit of Class Ia in copper (3.90 g. ↘ Peirce 1948 from Raymond iii. 28); (2) a modern cast in copper of Class Ia, flattened and pierced, of poor workmanship and probably intended for cheap jewelry (2.68 g. ↓ Schindler 1960 from T. Bertelè 20. vi. 49); and (3) a gilt copper counterfeit, probably contemporary, of Class Ib (3.59 g. ↓ Peirce 1948).

1a.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 3, R. 2010

1a.2 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
1a.3	Æ 4.39	25 ↓	+IЛƧXIƧRCX [ ]TI hⱮ	RΛC'Λ'	1059–1067
*1a.4	Æ 4.37	26 ↓		RΛC,Λ,	
1a.5	Æ 4.34	27 ↓	+IЛSIXIΓRCX RCIN etc.		
*1a.6	Æ 4.34 flattened	29 ↓	C for S, A for Λ	+ on globus	
*1a.7	Æ 4.33	26 ↓	⅂ for ς	RΛC,Λ,, ÷ on globus, emperor with longer beard	
1a.8	Æ 4.27 pierced	27 ↓	C for S, I for ς		
1a.9	Æ 2.62 cut down to border	20 ↓	I for S		
			(b) Pellet on shaft of labarum		
*1b.1	Æ 4.37	26 ↓	Ƨ for S	Cross on globus ·÷·	
1b.2	Æ 4.35	26 ↓			
*1b.3	Æ 4.29	26 ↘	+IhIXIIΓRIX RCIN ΛNTIhⱮ		
*1b.4	Æ 4.26	27 ↓		Cross on globus ·÷·, pear-shaped object suspended from hand	
1b.5	Æ 1.90 cut down to border	18 ↓	+IhƧIXCRCX RC[	]NRΛCΛ etc. Cross on globus ·÷·	

1a.3 Peirce 1948 from Cahn 1928
1a.4 Peirce 1948 from Raymond vi. 28
1a.5 Peirce 1948
1a.6 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. vi. 28
1a.7–8 Whittemore
1a.9 Schindler 1960
1b.1 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. 1928
W. 1–2, R. —
1b.2 Peirce 1948 from Bourgey iii. 24
1b.3 Peirce 1948 from Platt i. 24
1b.4 Peirce 1948 from Platt iii. 24
1b.5 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
			Christ seated on lyre-backed throne		
			Same inscription Similar type, but Christ seated on lyre-backed throne (Type I d)	+KWNRΛCΛ OΔOUK ΛC To l., emperor standing, facing, bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia, holding r. hand to breast and gl. cr. in l. To r., the Virgin standing, facing, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, holding l. hand before her and crowning emperor with r. Between heads, M̄ To r. of her head, Θ̄ Double border of dots	1059–1067
*2.1	Æ	4.42	28 ↓		
2.2	Æ	4.39	27 ↓		
2.3	Æ	4.38	28 ↓	+ЄICXICRX OC[ ]hIM	RACh for RΛCΛ
*2.4	Æ	4.38	27 ↘	+IdSIXSCX DCRΛΠ TIN+	RΛC for RΛCΛ, Ō for Θ̄
2.5	Æ	4.34	27 ↓	+IdΊ for +IdS	RΛC,Λ, for RΛCΛ

2 The letters are more carelessly formed than on coins of Class I, and owing to the concave form of the coins the details are often impossible to decipher. The emperor's beard is sometimes long, and shows an effort at characterized portraiture.

2.1 Whittemore
W. 4–7, R. 2011

2.2–4 Whittemore

2.5 Peirce 1948 from Spink xi. 27

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
2.6	Æ	4.33	26	↓		RΛC for RΛCΛ, O for Θ	1059–1067
2.7	Æ	4.33	25	↓			
2.8	Æ	4.24	26	↓		RΛC,Λ, for RΛCΛ	
					TETARTERON		
					No inscription Bust of the Virgin facing, nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion. To l., MΗΡ To r., ΘV Single border of dots	KWN RΛCIΛOΔYK Bust of emperor facing, bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, gl. cr.; in l., akakia. Single border of dots	
					(a) With no symbol in obv. field		
3a.1	Æ	4.03	19	↘			
*3a.2	Æ	3.99 plugged	19	↓	P in MΗΡ has the form R		
3a.3	Æ	3.98	20	↓			
*3a.4	Æ	3.92	20	↓			
					(b) With pellet to l. and r. in obv. field		
*3b	Æ	4.04	21	↘		RΛCΛ for RΛCIΛ	

2.6 Whittemore
2.7 Shaw 1947
2.8 Swiss Collection 1956
3a.1 Friend 1957
W. 8, R. 2012
3a.2 Whittemore
3a.3 Peirce 1948 from Fürstenberg Sale, lot 1713
3a.4 Peirce 1948 from Platt 15. i. 24
3b.1 Whittemore
W. —, R. —
This variety with two pellets in the obverse field seems to be rarer than the other, but I have seen several specimens (e.g., Foreign Ambassador Sale, lot 666).

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			MILIARESION		
*4	Æ 2.53	27 ↓	◄ — ► +KWN SEVΔOKIA ΠICTOIRA CIΛEICPW MAIWN ◄ • ► Triple linear border	ENTOVTYNIKATE KWNKAIEVΔKIΛN Cross crosslet on base and three steps with X at intersection, ⌣ on shaft, and pellet at end of each arm, all between busts of the emperor and empress. Triple linear border	1059–1067
			TWO-THIRDS MILIARESION *Class I* Long obv. inscr.		
*5	Æ 1.54	21 ↓	+ΘEOTOKI ROHΘEI Virgin standing facing on souppedion, nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion. To l., MP̄ To r., ΘV̄, with ⁝ to l. and r. of head. Single border of dots IE for EI	◄ — ► +ΘKERO HΘEIKWN C,TANTINWI ΔECΠOTH TWΔYKA ◄ • ► Single border of dots	

4 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. —
This coin is extremely rare. A poorly preserved specimen in the former Hollschek collection was published by Longuet in *NZ*, 77 (1957), 47, No. 288 (Pl. IV). There is another in the Balvin collection (ex G. Hirsch, Auktion XII, 25. iv. 57, lot 654), and a fourth in the BN (2.39 g. clipped).

5 Peirce 1948 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30, lot 2014 This coin
W. —, R. 2014
Coins of this class are very rare. The only others known to me are in Paris (*BNC*, II. 644/03) and Oslo (with no ornaments beside the head of the Virgin and the correct ending EI to the obverse inscription).

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
			Short obv. inscr.		
			+ΘKЄ ROHΘ Same type, but various ornaments beside head	Same inscr., but CTANTINЧ without abbreviation marks	1059–1067
			(a) Head between ·:· and ·:·		
*6a.1	Æ 1.71	21 ↓	Ends Θ′		
6a.2	Æ 1.58 chipped	22 ↓			
6a.3	Æ 1.43 pierced	21 ↓			
			(b) Same, but ➸ ✳ ➸ above rev. inscr.		
6b.1	Æ 1.66	23 ↓			
*6b.2	Æ 1.32 clipped	21 ↓			
			(c) Head between ·:· and ·:·		
*6c	Æ 1.29	20 ↙			
			(d) Head between ❀· and ·❀		
*6d	Æ 1.42 pierced	19 ↘			

6a.1 Peirce 1948 from Ratto sale 9. xii. 30, lot 2013 This coin
W. 9, R. 2013
6a.2–3 Whittemore
6b.1 Peirce 1948
W. —, R. —
6b.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 27
The symbol above the reverse inscription is almost off flan through clipping. It looks as if it might be ➸ + ➸ altered on the die to ➸ ✳ ➸.
6c Peirce 1948 from Glendining sale 9. iii. 31, lot 669
W. —, R. —
6d Whittemore
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(e) Head between ⸜ and ⸝		1059–1067
*6e	Æ 1.42	21 ↘	Pellet in field to l. and r.	· — · instead of ⸜ — ⸝ above inscr.	
			ONE-THIRD MILIARESION		
			No inscription Bust of the Virgin facing, orans, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion. To l., MP To r., ΘV Border of large pellets	ΘKER,Θ, KWNΔEC ΠOTHTω ΔOVKA Border of large pellets	
			(a) Long inscr., · · · beneath		
*(7a)	Æ pierced	17 ↓	(Private coll.)		
			(b) Short inscr., nothing beneath		
*7b	Æ 0.77 pierced	17 ↘		+ΘKE |R,Θ,KωN | ΔECΠO |— TH —	

The lower ornaments beside the head are not very clear on either this specimen or the one illustrated in the Hess-Bank Leu sale of 2. iv. 58, lot 442, but they seem to be rosettes rather than large globules.

6e Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. —, R. —

7 These two varieties of the one-third miliaresion perhaps correspond to Classes I and II of the two-thirds coin.

7b Peirce 1948 from Hirsch vii. 30
W. —, R. —
There is another specimen of this rare coin (0.70 g., pierced), of rather smaller module (14 mm.) in a private collection at Athens.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			FOLLIS *Class 1* Two standing figures		
			+ЄMMA NOVHΛ Christ standing on square souppedion (Type IVb) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book by lower edge. In field, IC and XC	+KΨNTΔK (on r.) ЄVΔKAVΓO (on l.) To l., Eudocia standing, facing, wearing modified loros with kite-shaped lower panel and crown with cross and pendilia. To r., Constantine standing, facing, wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia. They hold between them labarum, with cross-piece on shaft, standing on base and three steps, and each places one hand on heart	1059–1067
*8.1	Æ 15.82	33 ↓		Overstruck on Anonymous Class B, itself overstruck on Class A	

8 The mint of these coins is discussed in the Introduction, pp. 76, 641–3. Eudocia occupies what was traditionally regarded as the place of honor, on the spectator's left, but her hand is placed beneath that of her husband on the shaft of the labarum; see above, pp. 110, 113. The coins are all overstruck, and lower types are identified here where possible. The reverses, which took the impression of the upper die, are usually in better condition than the obverses, but the inscriptions are rarely altogether legible. Details are given only when there seems special reason to do so.

8.1 Schindler 1960
W. 18–31, R. 2021–4

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
8.2	Æ	15.77	30	↓			1059–1067
8.3	Æ	11.94	35	↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class E	Ends AVΓ	
8.4	Æ	10.44	28	↓			
8.5	Æ	10.13	30	↓		ΔK omitted	
8.6	Æ	9.82	29	↙			
8.7	Æ	9.58	32	↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class C		
8.8	Æ	9.54	31	↓			
8.9	Æ	9.51	27	↙		ΔK omitted	
*8.10	Æ	9.16	28	↘			
8.11	Æ	8.85	31	↓		Δ'K' for ΔK	
8.12	Æ	8.85	32	↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class B		
8.13	Æ	8.47	27	↓		Ends AΓO	
8.14	Æ	8.47	32	↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class B		
8.15	Æ	8.46	25	↙		Reads ЄVΔKΓO	
8.16	Æ	8.42	29	↑			
8.17	Æ	8.30	29	↘	Overstruck on Anonymous Class E	Δ'K, for ΔK	
8.18	Æ	8.25	31	↘		T,Δ,K, for TΔK, AΓO for AVΓO	
*8.19	Æ	7.99	27	↓			

8.2 Schindler 1960
8.3 Shaw 1947
8.4 Peirce 1948 from Istanbul bazar x. 27
8.5 Whittemore
8.6 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
8.7 Swiss Collection 1956
8.8–9 Schindler 1960
8.10 Peirce 1948
8.11 Whittemore
8.12 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. xi. 29
8.13 Whittemore
8.14–15 Peirce 1948 from Spink vi. 29
8.16 Peirce 1948 from Raymond viii. 28
8.17 Shaw 1947
8.18 Whittemore
8.19 Peirce 1948

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
8.20	Æ 7.79	28 ↘			1059–1067
8.21	Æ 7.54 pierced	31 ↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class D		
8.22	Æ 7.45	30 ↘			
8.23	Æ 7.15	29 ↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class D	+KWNTΔ Є[	
8.24	Æ 6.92	28 ↓		Ends AV	
8.25	Æ 6.92	32 ↘			
8.26	Æ 6.29	29 ↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class E		
8.27	Æ 6.27	29 ↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class D		
8.28	Æ 6.11	29 ↙	Overstruck on Anonymous Class D		
8.29	Æ 6.11	30 ↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class C		
8.30	Æ 5.89	30 ↙			
8.31	Æ 5.77	29 ↘	Overstruck on Anonymous Class C		
8.32	Æ 5.74	30 ↓		ΔK omitted	

8.20 Peirce 1948 from Glendining
8.21–2 Schindler 1960
8.23 Whittemore
8.24 Peirce 1948
8.25–6 Swiss Collection 1956
8.27 Whittemore
8.28 Schindler 1960
8.29 Peirce 1948 from Glendining 9. iii. 31, lot 669
8.30–1 Whittemore
8.32 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class 2		
			Bust of Constantine X		
			+ЄMMA NOVHΛ Bust of Christ (Type Vf) facing, with long beard and cross nimbus having pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised before breast in blessing, l. holds book, with ※ on cover, from beneath. To l., IC To r., XC	+KЦNRΛCI ΛЄVCO ΔOVK Bust of emperor facing, bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, cross held vertically; in l., akakia	1059–1967
*9.1	Æ 11.65	26 ↓			
9.2	Æ 10.74	26 ↓			
9.3	Æ 10.00	30 ↓			
9.4	Æ 9.85	28 ↓		Ends ΔK	
9.5	Æ 9.50	29 ↘			
9.6	Æ 9.03	27 ↓			
9.7	Æ 8.49	31 ↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class D		

9 Coins of this class, like those of the preceding one, are all overstruck. Though it has been rather more carefully done, so that in only a few cases (e.g., Nos. 9.7, 9. 17) does the earlier type predominate, the inscriptions are never complete and the details of the bust of Christ, which would have been on the lower die, are never clear. Inscriptions are only noted when they involve some visible departure from the norm.

9.1 Peirce 1948 acq. x. 27
W. 32–7, R. 2018–19

9.2 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32

9.3 Whittemore

9.4 Schindler 1960

9.5 Whittemore

9.6 Peirce 1948

9.7 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*9.8	Æ	7.83	31	↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class D	ΛCVC for ΛЄVC	1059–1067
9.9	Æ	7.57	29	↓			
9.10	Æ	7.34	28	↓			
9.11	Æ	7.08	29	↘	Tinned		
*9.12	Æ	6.92	28	↘		Begins KЦN	
9.13	Æ	6.73	28	↙		Begins K ЦN	
9.14	Æ	6.61	29	↘		Begins ✝K ЦN	
9.15	Æ	6.16	28	↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class D, and double struck		
9.16	Æ	5.59 worn	28	↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class C		
9.17	Æ	5.54	29	↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class C		

9.8 Schindler 1960
9.9 Swiss Collection 1956
9.10 Whittemore
9.11 Schindler 1960
9.12 Swiss Collection 1956
9.13–15 Schindler 1960
9.16 Swiss Collection 1956
9.17 Schindler 1960

EUDOCIA Macrembolitissa[1]

Augusta 1059 (?) – October 1071

(a) With Constantine X, 1059 – 22 May 1067
(b) With Michael (VII) and Constantius, May – 31 Dec. 1067
(c) With Romanus IV, Michael VII, Andronicus, and Constantius, 1 Jan. 1068 – late Sept. 1071
(d) With Michael VII, Andronicus, and Constantius, late Sept. – late Oct. 1071

Background and Chronology

The constitutional complications of the years 1067–71 arose in part out of Constantine X's provisions for the succession, in part out of the ambitions of his widow Eudocia. The emperor had four sons—Michael (VII), a boy whose name is unknown and who died young, Andronicus, and Constantius or Constantine—the first three being born before his accession and only the last being a Porphyrogenitus.[2] Eudocia was probably created Augusta on the first convenient occasion after Constantine X's own accession, i.e., in 1059. Constantius was created Augustus shortly after his birth in 1060, Michael a little later.[3] One might expect Constantius to have been the senior in dignity, since he was both born in the purple and the first to be crowned, but in the text of Eudocia's oath of 1067 and in the dating clauses of South Italian charters of Eudocia's regency Michael is always named before his brother, and it is probable that he was formally promoted to the senior position when he was crowned. The third brother, Andronicus, was associated co-emperor by Romanus IV, probably at the time of his accession, since he appears on all the histamena of the reign. The fact that he ever held the imperial dignity at all is pointedly and no doubt deliberately ignored by Psellus, but the evidence of Scylitzes and Attaleiates,[4] of charters,[5] and of the coins is on this point quite clear.

[1] For Eudocia's career one can most usefully consult N. Oikonomidès, "Le serment de l'impératrice Eudocie (1067). Un épisode de l'histoire dynastique de Byzance," *REB*, 21 (1963), 101–28.

[2] Psellus, vii (Constantine X), chaps. 20–21 (ed. Renauld, II. 147–8). The fourth son's name appears in the two forms Constantius and Constantine, but there can be no serious doubt that Constantius is the correct one and that Constantine, which occurs in some contemporary works and was used in most modern ones until recently, is an error. See Oikonomidès, *art. cit.*, 116–17, and Polemis, *The Doukai*, 48.

[3] Psellus, vii (Constantine X), chap. 21 (p. 148), no dates being given.

[4] Scylitzes Cont. p. 670; Attaleiates, p. 106. Scylitzes had earlier said (p. 670) that it was Constantine X who created Andronicus co-emperor, but the sentence is loosely constructed and evidently intended no more than to say that Andronicus attained this rank. Cf. Polemis, *The Doukai*, 47.

[5] E.g., *Quarto anno regnante domino Romano qui et Dioghenio et cum eo regnantibus domino Michaele et domino Constantino porphirogenito, quam et domino Andronico gloriosissimis imperatoribus nostris* (G. B. Beltrani, *Documenti longobardi e greci per la storia dell'Italia meridionale* [Rome, 1877], no. 18, p. 27). But he is sometimes omitted; cf. *quarto anno imperii domini Romano Diogeni et cum eo regnante*

The death of Constantine X in May 1067 left Eudocia as Augusta in her own right and regent on behalf of her sons. This situation lasted for seven months, till it became evident that circumstances required someone more competent than either Michael or her advisors in charge of affairs. In December, despite her solemn promise to her late husband that she would not marry again,[6] she resolved to marry Romanus Diogenes, a distinguished soldier many years younger than herself, and on 1 January 1068 Romanus IV became emperor as Eudocia's husband.[7] Although he undertook to respect the rights of her children and his constitutional inferiority is to some extent reflected in his coins, he was effectively ruler till his defeat and capture at Manzikert on 26 August 1071.[8] When the first confused news of this disaster reached Constantinople it was agreed that Eudocia and her sons should exercise power jointly,[9] and when the further news of Romanus' release arrived it was resolved, on the advice of the Caesar John Ducas, to resist his attempt to recover his position. Letters were sent out to the provinces instructing them on no account to recognize the defeated emperor. But Michael was as little prepared to tolerate the control of his mother as he was that of his stepfather, and after a month of joint rule, from late September to late October, he was proclaimed *autocrator*, and Eudocia was dispatched to a monastery and compelled to take vows of religion.[10] Romanus maintained the unequal struggle against Michael until the spring of 1072, when he was forced to surrender, and was blinded with such cruelty that he died shortly afterward (4 August).[11]

Coinage

The two periods in which Eudocia could conceivably have occupied the leading position on the coins are therefore the months May – December 1067 and September – October 1071,

domino Michail et domina Evdokya et domino Constantino porfirogenito (*Cod. dipl. barese*, IV, no. 45, p. 89).

[6] Scylitzes Cont., p. 659. The text of her oath is published and minutely discussed by Oikonomidès, *art. cit.*

[7] Scylitzes Cont., p. 666.

[8] Several sources date the battle to a Friday in late August, and for long it was assumed that this was the 26th, but recent works have tended to follow the thirteenth-century historian al-Makin and place it a week earlier, on Friday the 19th (cf. J. Laurent, *Byzance et les Turcs seljoucides dans l'Asie occidentale jusqu'en 1081* [Nancy, 1913], 43, note 10). But a note in MS *Athenensis graecus* 1429, fol. 45, dates it firmly to the 26th (Gautier, *art. cit.* [above, p. 764 note 2], 156–7).

[9] Psellus, vii (Romanus IV), chaps. 25, 27 (pp. 163–4). Bryennius (i. 18; Bonn ed., pp. 43–4) says that only Eudocia and Michael were to be sovereigns, but Psellus' account is more probable.

[10] Psellus, vii (Romanus IV), chaps. 28–30 (pp. 165–6); Bryennius, i. 20 (pp. 45–6). I follow the dating proposed by D. I. Polemis, "Notes on Eleventh-Century Chronology," *BZ*, 58 (1965), 63–5. Muralt's dating of the joint rule of Eudocia and Michael to the month 24 Sept. – 24 Oct. is unjustifiably precise. For the activities of John Ducas, see B. Leib, "Jean Doukas, césar et moine. Son jeu politique à Byzance de 1067 à 1081," *Mélanges Paul Peeters*, II (Brussels, 1950) (=*Analecta Bollandiana*, 58), 163–80.

[11] Attaleiates (pp. 168–79) gives the fullest account of Romanus' history after Manzikert, but it is difficult to arrive at an exact chronology. The *Catalogus sepulchrorum* gives him a "reign" of four years and three months, which would imply his defeat and capture in about April (Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors," *DOP*, 16 [1962], 60), and the dates of his blinding and death are given as 29 June and 4 August respectively by glosses in MSS of Attaleiates (Polemis, *art. cit.*, 65, note 35, and Addendum on p. 76).

though coins of the latter period would be unlikely in view of its brevity and the uncertainty of the constitutional situation. One well-known group of histamena exists in which she takes precedence of two of her children, and there is also a tetarteron on which she is associated with Michael VII and takes precedence of him.

The first coins are those histamena having on the obverse a seated figure of Christ and on the reverse the figure of Eudocia standing on a cushion between her two sons Michael and Constantius. According to regular imperial protocol, when three co-emperors are shown standing together and the one in the middle is a woman, precedence as between the two others belongs to the one on the spectator's left, and so, in this case, to Michael as against Constantius.[12] De Saulcy was of the opinion that the coins should be ascribed to the period after Manzikert, while Wroth attributed them to the regency of 1067.[13] There can be no doubt that this is correct. The coins are too common for an issue lasting barely a month, and in September 1067 it would have been difficult to ignore the fact that Andronicus was technically a co-emperor with his brothers. The fineness of such specimens as have been tested is also about 17½ carats, which would correspond better to 1067 than to 1071.[14]

A detail of particular interest in the design of these histamena is the first appearance of what Hendy terms a loros-waist, a decorated panel on the front of the wearer's body where the fold of the loros passes across in front of his body to hang over his outstretched arm. It occurs only on the effigies of the two youthful figures on the reverse and the decoration is a quite simple one of five pellets, intended as ⊠, but with the pellets irregularly placed, since the panel is flattened and highly angular, and has not yet assumed the almost square shape it was to acquire in the future. Up to this time the fold of the loros had not been differentiated from the rest of the garment, and this new way of treating it, in the form of a distinctively designed panel, was to play an important role in twelfth-century coinage.[15] Also very conspicuous, but not quite a novelty, is the kite-shaped panel on the lower part of Eudocia's loros which forms a notable feature of eleventh-century female costume.[16]

The tetarteron is known from a single specimen in the former Prince Cantacuzene collection, sold in London in 1922.[17] Its present whereabouts is unknown to me, but the coin is fortunately illustrated and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. The obverse is a bust of the Virgin, in all respects like that of the tetartera of Romanus IV and Michael VII. The reverse is basically the same as that of Class I of Michael VII, with two facing busts, but their positions are reversed, the one on the left being female and that on the right male and beardless, while the inscription is +ЄVΔ[OK]IA SMIXAHΛRC, i.e., Εὐδοκία καὶ Μιχαὴλ βασιλεῖς. The sale catalogue dated it 1071 and Goodacre[18] believed

[12] Above, pp. 111–12.

[13] F. de Saulcy, *Essai de classification des suites monétaires byzantines*, 298–300; Wroth, p. 522, note 1. Sabatier (II. 169) supposed the coins to have been struck over the whole period 1067–71, which is out of the question.

[14] Grierson, "Notes on the Fineness of the Byzantine Solidus," *BZ*, 54 (1961), 95–6.

[15] Cf. Hendy, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261*, 165ff., and above, p. 122.

[16] Above, pp. 124–5.

[17] Foreign Prince Sale (Glendining 8. ii. 22), lot 209.

[18] *Handbook of the Coinage of the Byzantine Empire* (1957), 255.

it to have been struck in the month following Manzikert. This would fit in well with the sequence of types, but there was a very marked decline in the quality of lettering on the tetartera of this period, and the high standard occurring on this coin, as well as the greater length of time involved, makes me prefer the earlier date. It would be very surprising if Eudocia's issue of tetartera in 1067 were unaccompanied by a corresponding one of histamena, and the difference in type from the histamena of 1067—and the omission of Constantius—would be natural consequences of the smaller size of the flan.

Mr. Whitting published in 1949 another rather similar tetarteron in his collection in which the positions of the male and female figures had also been reversed, and queried whether it might not belong to 1071.[19] This is out of the question. The type corresponds to that of Michael VII's Class III, which belongs to the late 1070's, and Mr. Whitting failed to note that the inscription and not merely the type had also been reversed from left to right, so that it reads, backward, +MIXAHΛ CM[. The coin belongs, in fact, to a class of faults produced when a die-sinker has inadvertently copied a coin directly for his die instead of making the necessary inversion of inscription and type. This kind of error occurs from time to time in all coin series, and does not merit any particular attention.

The question has been raised by Oikonomidès[20] as to whether Eudocia was formally *autocrator* during her regency, or whether she merely acted in this capacity without actually holding the title. That she did the latter, while being careful to associate her sons in all that she did, is admitted by all, but in his view she was never fully *autocrator*. To the arguments he adduces one may add that of the order of precedence on her histamena: if she had been fully *autocrator*, one might expect to see Michael, as next in rank, on the right, and Constantius on the left. Against it is the clear title on the tetarteron just discussed and its order of precedence, for on coins of previous regencies—Irene for Constantine VI, Zoe for Irene—the regent had taken second place to her son.[21] Against it also are the dating clauses of South Italian charters, where Eudocia's name always takes precedence over those of her children and she is often the only one to receive the imperial title.[22] While I suspect that he may be formally correct, the distinction is one that would have passed unnoticed by most of her subjects and probably by most of her court. She was as nearly emperor as made no matter.

[19] P. D. Whitting, "An XIth Century Solidus," *N.Circ.*, 57 (1949), 217–18. I am grateful to Mr. Whitting for allowing me to examine the coin. There was another specimen, with blundered inscription, in the Hess-Bank Leu sale of 7. vi. 60, lot 448.

[20] *Art. cit.*, 123–4.

[21] Above, pp. 108–9. Oikonomidès (p. 127, note 126) follows Goodacre in assigning this coin to 1071.

[22] E. g., a Terlizzi charter of January 1068 dated *primo anno imperatricis domine Ebdukya cum filius suis Michail et Constantino Porfirogenito* (*Cod. dipl. barese*, III. 23). Oikonomidès does not take these dating clauses into consideration at all. Although they are often carelessly or incompletely drafted, they are very relevant to the point at issue.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					Constantinople		
					HISTAMENON (concave)		
					+IAS XIS RCX RCSN ANTIhM Christ seated on square-backed throne (Type II c) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in front of body in blessing, l. holds book by spine on knee. Double border of dots	+MIX ЄЧ ΔK KWNS Three figures standing facing. In center Eudocia, on dais, wearing modified loros with kite-shaped panel and crown with pinnacles and pendilia, holding in r. knobbed scepter; l. hand on breast. To l., Michael wearing modified loros with loros-waist and crown with cross and pendilia, holding in r. gl. cr., in l., akakia. To r., similar figure of Constantius, but gl. cr. in l. and akakia in r. Double border of dots	1067
1.1	Æ	4.45	26	↓	RCIX for RCX IhIM for IhM		
*1.2	Æ	4.41	26	↓	Ends ANTIAIM		
*1.3	Æ	4.41	27	↙		Ends KWN	

1.1 Whittemore
W. 1–2, R. 2025
1.2 Whittemore
1.3 Peirce 1948

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
1.4	Æ 4.35	27 ↙			1067
1.5	Æ 4.35 pierced and flattened	27 ↓	RCIX for RCX R. side of inscr. obscure		
1.6	Æ 4.33 pierced	27 ↙	RICX for RCX		
			TETARTERON		
			+ΘΚΕ ROHΘ Bust of the Virgin facing, wearing tunic and maphorion, holding medallion of the Infant Christ with cross behind head. In field, MΡ ΘV Single border of dots	+ΕVΔOKIA SMIXA HΛRC Half-figures of Eudocia (on l.) and Michael (on r.) facing, holding between them a long cross with pellet at end of each arm, Eudocia wearing modified loros and crown with pinnacles and pendilia, Romanus modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia. Single border of dots	
*(2)	Æ 4.00	17 ↓	(BM ex "Russian Nobleman" Sale, lot 209)		

1.4–6 Whittemore
In addition to the coins listed above, there is in the Whittemore Collection a contemporary counterfeit in gilded copper (3.56 g. ↓).

ROMANUS IV Diogenes

1 January 1068 – September 1071

(Deposed; died 4 August 1072)

Colleagues: Eudocia Macrembolitissa, Michael IV, Andronicus, and Constantius

The reign of Romanus IV dated from his marriage to Eudocia and his coronation on 1 January 1068.[1] It ended effectively with his defeat at Manzikert on 26 August 1071, though the mint of Constantinople probably continued to strike coins in his name during September and perhaps even October, while Romanus must have regarded himself as emperor until his surrender and abdication in the spring of 1072. His position as emperor was, as his coinage shows, an ambiguous one, for while his age and experience inevitably gave him first place in the government and his name precedes those of his colleagues in official acts, Eudocia and Michael took the view that he was only regent on behalf of the children of Constantine X. The empress was anxious to guard against what had occurred during the reigns of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces exactly a century before, when Basil and Constantine, the rightful emperors, were pushed completely into the background and, if either Nicephorus or John had had children, would have been in serious danger of being eliminated entirely from the succession. Her task was simplified by Romanus' talent for making himself unpopular. He followed, with only indifferent success, the policies of Isaac I. Further, he lacked the patience, organizing ability, and authority to carry through the necessary military reforms, and in the end it was his rash leadership of inadequately trained forces that resulted in the greatest disaster sustained by any Roman army since the battle of Adrianople.

Romanus inherited as colleagues two of the sons of Constantine X, and added to them, for reasons that are unknown, their brother Andronicus. The date clauses of Italian charters place Andronicus' name, when they insert it at all, after that of Constantius,[2] but in fact he was given rank above the latter. This is apparent from the order of precedence on the histamena of Romanus IV's reign (Pl. LXV 1, 2),[3] and is confirmed by the order in which the three brothers signed the marriage contract between Michael's son Constan-

[1] For this, and what follows, see above, p. 780 ff.

[2] Above, p. 782 note 22. This is probably due to the scribes having simply adapted a formula to which they were accustomed by adding the name of Andronicus at the end. From the practical point of view, the relative rank of younger brothers would have been of little consequence.

[3] See above, p. 781. The order used on the coin is misunderstood by Oikonomidès, *art. cit.* (above, p. 779, note 1), p. 118, note 61, and Polemis (*The Doukai*, p. 49 and note 7), who suppose that it gives precedence to Constantius and proves that, for a time at least, he was treated as senior to Andronicus. In reality, all histamena issued during Romanus IV's reign make Andronicus senior to his brother.

tine and Helena, daughter of Robert Guiscard, in 1074.[4] The influence of Constantine X's family dominates the whole of Romanus' coinage in gold. His histamena, indeed, are technically not his at all, but ones of Michael and his brothers, for it is they who occupy the obverse—the convex face—and the representation of Christ blessing Romanus' marriage to Eudocia is simply the reverse type. His tetartera, both those actually struck and a second type of which a pattern is known, are shared with Eudocia. Only the silver and copper are struck in his name alone.

Two classes of histamena were struck during the reign, differing so slightly between themselves that it is difficult to imagine why one was replaced by the other. One is naturally tempted to assign them to separate mints, on the assumption that the instructions regarding the type were differently understood by two minting authorities, but stylistically they are very uniform. Both belong, so far as type is concerned, to the class of marriage solidi, a form of coin that had not been seen since the end of the fifth century, though examples of that period had been ceremonial issues struck in minute quantities while their eleventh-century counterpart formed the main coinage of Romanus IV's reign. Since the coins depict a total of six figures, three on one side and three on the other, they were nicknamed "six-headers" by contemporaries.[5]

The obverse of the histamenon shows the standing figures of Michael VII and his brothers, Michael in the center, Andronicus on the right, and Constantius on the left, the order of precedence implied being Michael, Andronicus, Constantius. The reverse shows Christ blessing the union of Romanus and Eudocia. Christ stands on a square footstool, represented as a parallelogram delineated by dotted lines, but there is nothing beneath the feet of the emperor and empress, presumably because they are in the presence of Christ. On the obverse of Class I the three children stand on separate cushions, which are shown as linear crescents beneath their feet. These elements in the furniture of the imperial court are discussed elsewhere.[6] On the obverse of Class II the three children stand on a single dais, indicated by a row of pellets between two horizontal lines. This represents a decorated wooden platform such as we find, for example, supporting the Empress Eudocia, wife of Basil I, and her sons Leo (VI) and Alexander in a miniature in the late ninth-century manuscript of St. Gregory of Nazianzus in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[7] The costume of the imperial princes reproduces that already used on the histamena of Eudocia's regency, with the same early use of the decorated "loros waist."[8]

There are two clues to the order of issue. One is the contents of a small pot hoard, found in 1959 in the Dobrudja, which contained nine histamena of Michael VII and was

[4] Michael Psellus, *Scripta minora*, ed. E. Kurtz and F. Drexl, I (Milan, 1936), 334. The authenticity of the act, which Dölger suspected might be no more than an exercise in style by Psellus, is vindicated by H. Bibicou, "Une page d'histoire diplomatique de Byzance au XIe siècle: Michel VII Doukas, Robert Guiscard et la pension des dignitaires," *Byzantion*, 29–30 (1959–60), 43–75.

[5] Above, p. 62.

[6] Above, pp. 115–16. This type was also used for a lead seal of which several specimens are known. Cf. V. Laurent, *Les sceaux byzantins du médailler vatican* (Vatican City, 1962), No. 12.

[7] H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1929), Pl. XVI.

[8] Above, pp. 122, 781.

evidently buried early in his reign.[9] It also contained six histamena of Romanus IV, all of the type showing the three brothers on a dais. This suggests either that these were the closest in date to the coins of Michael VII, and therefore the last issue of Romanus' reign, or, alternatively, that the mint which produced the coins with separate cushions was different from that which produced those with a dais. The second clue is the design of the globus crucigers held by the two youngest emperors and by Romanus and Eudocia. On coins of Class I the cross on the globus crucigers invariably takes the form of a pyramid of three pellets. On coins of Class II this uniformity disappears; the crosses of the two junior emperors are often solid and those of Romanus and Eudocia often formed by four pellets. On the coins of Eudocia's regency, however, the crosses are always three pellets, and this was evidently the design carried over to Class I of the next reign. These considerations seem decisive for the order of issue.

There is only one type of tetarteron known, having on the obverse the bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ and on the reverse the half-figures of the emperor and empress holding a globus with a long cross. Wroth followed Sabatier in attributing a second series to the reign, but these belong to Romanus III.[10] A pattern for another type exists in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It has on the obverse the facing bust of Eudocia holding a labarum and a globus cruciger, with the title of *Basil(issa)*; on the reverse is the bust of Romanus, holding an akakia and globus cruciger, with the title of *Desp(otes)*. The pattern is of copper, with a large frame giving it a diameter of 32 mm., but there can be no doubt that it was intended for a tetarteron.[11]

With regard to the silver, it has been argued elsewhere that Wroth's Type 1 should be assigned to Romanus III, but that his Type 4, a one-third miliaresion which Mme Morrisson wished to transfer to Romanus III, is in fact a coin of Romanus IV.[12] It was for the first time correctly published by Zacos and Veglery,[13] Wroth having misread the ΘK RΘ in the field (i.e., Θεοτόκε βοήθει) as CK·PΔ and failed to notice the four Δ's in the margin. These continue the PΩM in the field and in turn carry on from the ΘK RΘ of the obverse, so that the entire inscription reads Θεοτόκε βοήθει Ῥωμανῷ Διογένει Δεσπότῃ, the Δ's being twice repeated in the margin for the sake of symmetry. There remain the two classes of two-thirds miliaresion on which Romanus IV uses his family name of Diogenes, so that their attribution is not in doubt. Several minor varieties of both exist. Their order of issue is unknown.

[9] I. Barnea, "Alt tezaur de monede bizantine de la Dinogetia," *SCN*, 3 (1960), 245–54.

[10] Above, p. 712.

[11] The piece is described and illustrated, not quite correctly, by Sabatier, *Description*, II. 171, No. 2, Pl. L. 13. Sabatier also describes, from Mionnet, what purports to be another specimen of slightly different design, and Wroth, p. 527, reproduces both descriptions. The two actually refer to one and the same object, the akakia in Romanus' left hand not being, in fact, very clear. See *BNC*, p. 651 and Pl. xc/12. Sabatier and Wroth both treat the piece as a copper *coin*, which it certainly is not. The type and the module, once the frame is left out of account, are those of a tetarteron, as was noted by J. A. Blanchet, "Essais monétaires romains," *RN*³, 14 (1896), 239. On such patterns see above, p. 98.

[12] Above, p. 713–14.

[13] G. Zacos and A. Veglery, "C for Σ on Coins of the Eleventh Century," *N.Circ.*, 68 (1960), 154–5.

Romanus continued Constantine X's practice of issuing signed folles at the same time as Anonymous Folles, but his coins are themselves almost anonymous in character. Instead of having a bust or a standing figure of himself with an appropriate inscription, they have on one face a bust of Christ and on the other a cross, like so many of the Anonymous Follis types, and the personal element goes no further than the letters CRPΔ, replacing a religious formula, in the angles of the cross. That these stand for an invocation, on the model of similar formulae used on seals, reliquaries, and the like, is beyond doubt, and the final two must stand for either *Romanos Diogenes* or *Romanos Despotes*, it is impossible to say which. The R is the usual eleventh-century form of a B, standing for βοήθει. On the C there have long been two schools of thought. Marchant interpreted it as a *sigma*, standing for Σταυρέ, de Saulcy as a *kappa*, standing for Κυριέ.[14] This gave two alternative interpretations, either "O Cross, preserve Emperor Romanus" or "O Lord, preserve Emperor Romanus." Sabatier and Wroth[15] followed de Saulcy; Svoronos revived Marchant's interpretation, though in a slightly different form;[16] and finally Zacos and Veglery, after a careful study of the inscriptions on eleventh-century coinage, have shown that the reading Σταυρέ is to be preferred.[17] Though *Kyrie*, to a person familiar with Byzantine inscriptions, seems the more natural interpretation, Latin lettering was going out of use very rapidly in the capital in the middle years of the century, and coin inscriptions of the period 1042–1118 show that after 1057 C was *always* used as the equivalent of Σ, *never* as that of K. Seal inscriptions also reveal a number of cases in which the cross is invoked, the word being spelled out in such a fashion that no doubt is possible (C̅T̅P̅Є ΘVΛΑTTЄ KVPIAKON OI KЄTHN, "O Cross, protect Cyriacus the servant"; CKЄΠOIC ΜЄ CTAVPЄ MANOVHΛ AIOΓЄNH, "O Cross, protect me Manuel Diogenes"). Although many users of Romanus' folles would probably interpret the C as *Kyrie*, there can be little doubt that the other meaning was that intended by the mint and that the inscription should be understood as Σταυρὲ Βοήθει Ῥωμανῷ Δεσπότῃ.

Class G of the Anonymous Folles is found overstruck on signed folles of both Constantine X and Romanus IV, and must have been issued at about this period. Wroth attributed it to Constantine IX, which is much too early.

[14] *Lettres du Baron Marchant*, 2nd ed. (1851), 19–22, but reading the R erroneously as a K and interpreting it as κατίσταστι, "fortify;" F. de Saulcy, *Essai de classification des suites monétaires byzantines* (1836), 304.

[15] Sabatier, *Description*, II. 173; Wroth, p. 527, note 1.

[16] J. N. Svoronos, Βυζαντιακὰ νομισματικὰ ξητήματα, *JIAN*, 2 (1899), 382. His view was that the cross of the type represented the first word and that the C stood for σὸν, so that the legend would read (Σταυρὲ) σὸν βοήθει Ῥωμανὸν δεσπότην.

[17] Zacos and Veglery, *art. cit.*, 155–7. They had included a note to the same effect in the 1957 reprint of Goodacre's *Handbook of the Coinage of the Byzantine Empire*, 7, and their article is a reply to Laurent's blunt rejection of the possibility in his review of the book.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			HISTAMENON (concave)		
			Class I		
			KWN MX ANΔ Three figures standing facing on separate cushions. In center, Michael VII, large, wearing modified loros with loros-waist and crown with cross and pendilia, holding in r. a labarum-headed scepter and in l., akakia. To l., similar figure of Constantius, holding gl. cr. in r. and akakia in l.; to r., Andronicus, similar, but akakia in r. and gl. cr. in l. Double border of dots	+PWMANS EVΔUKIA (often imperfect) Three figures standing facing. In center, Christ standing on square footstool, nimbate, wearing tunic and himation, crowning Romanus on l. and Eudocia on r. Romanus wears modified loros and crown with pendilia, holds r. hand on breast and gl. cr. in r. Eudocia wears modified loros with kite-shaped panel and crown with pinnacles and pendilia, holds gl. cr. in r. and l. hand on breast. In upper field, IC XC Double border of dots	1068–1071
*1.1	AV 4.42	28 ↓		+IWMANS CVΔYKIA	

1 On this class the cross of the globus cruciger held by each co-ruler is normally formed by three pellets. The letters of the reverse are so badly formed that they can be only approximately reproduced in print.

1.1 Peirce 1948 from Raymond iv. 32
W. 1, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*1.2	N 4.41	27 ↘		+IWMAN CVΔHKIK Gl. cr. of four pellets	1068–1071
1.3	N 4.39	28 ↓		] EVΔAΠSN	
1.4	N 4.38	28 ↓		+IWMAN' CVΔKIA	
1.5	N 4.38	26 ↓		+PWMANs EVΔZAIIΛ	
1.6	N 4.36 pierced	26 ↓		+IWNANS CVΔKPN	
1.7	N 4.36	27 ↓		+IWMAN EVΔΠΠZM	
1.8	N 4.35	27 ↓		+IWMANs [	
1.9	N 4.35	27 ↓		+PWMANY CVΔKΛIM	
1.10	N 4.19 pierced	26 ↓		+PWMANs EVΔKRIIM	
			Class II		
			Same inscr. and type, but the three figures stand on a single dais	Same inscr. and type	
*2.1	N 4.40	27 ↓		+IWMΛ CVΔKIΛ	
2.2	N 4.39	27 ↓	Crosses of three pellets	+IWMΛNII CVΔK[	
2.3	N 4.38 pierced	27 ↓		IWMΛN– CVΔKΛI·	
*2.4	N 4.37	26 ↘		+IWMΛN' [	
2.5	N 4.37 flattened	28 ↓		+I–MΠ EVΔKLI·	

1.2–10 Whittemore
If their varying color is any guide, these coins are from several different sources, not from a single hoard.

2 On this class the cross of the globus crucigers held by Romanus and by Eudocia is composed of four pellets, while those of Constantius and Andronicus are solid unless the contrary is indicated.

2.1 Whittemore
W. 2–3, R. 2026f.

2.2–3 Whittemore

2.4 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co. ii. 28

2.5 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
2.6	N	4.37	28	↓	Crosses of three pellets	] CVΔKΛIA	1068–1071
2.7	N	4.33	28	↓	Inscr. illegible	+PWMAN ЄVΔKIΛ	
2.8	N	4.33	27	↓		–IWMII– CVΔKΓII	
2.9	N	4.31	26	↓	KWИ	] CVΔKNIS	
					TETARTERON		
					+ΘKЄ ROHΘ Bust of the Virgin facing, wearing tunic and maphorion, holding medallion of the Infant Christ with cross behind head. In field, MP ΘV Single border of dots	+IWMANSЄVΔKRIM (or variant, blundered) Half-figures of Romanus (on l.) and Eudocia (on r.) facing, holding between them globe which supports a long cross, Romanus wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia, Eudocia modified loros and crown with pinnacles and pendilia. Single border of dots	
3.1	N	4.06	19	↓	Same die as 3.4	+IWMΛIC VΔKRIMI Same die as 3.2 and 3.4	
3.2	N	4.06	19	↓		Same die as 3.1 and 3.4	
3.3	N	4.05	19	↓	Same die as 3.11	+IWMΛNS CVΔKRI– Same die as 3.11	

2.6 Whittemore
2.7 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
2.8–9 Whittemore
3.1–3 Whittemore
W. 5–6, R. 2028

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
3.4	N	4.05	18	↓	Same die as 3.1	Same die as 3.1 and 3.2	1068–1071
3.5	N	4.04	19	↓		]IW MSCV ΔKRIMI	
3.6	N	4.03	19	↓		+IWM[ ]SC VVΔRIM	
3.7	N	4.01	19	↘		+IWNΛC SV ΔK RIM	
3.8	N	4.01	20	↓		+IWMΛSCVΔKRI MI	
3.9	N	4.01	18	↓		+IWMAN SEVΔKΛI	
3.10	N	4.01	20	↓		IWN U CV ΔKII RMI	
*3.11	N	4.01	20	↘	Same die as 3.3	Same die as 3.3	
					Pattern Tetarteron		
					EVΔO RACIΛ Bust of Eudocia, facing, wearing modified loros with collar-piece and crown with pinnacles and pendilia, holding in r., labarum-headed scepter, in l., gl. cr. Dotted border within broad ringed edge	+PWMAN' ΔECΠ Bust of Romanus, facing, bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia, holding in r., gl. cr., in l., akakia. Similar border to obv.	
(4)	Æ	33.69 with border	32 with border		(Paris)		

3.4 Friend 1957
3.5–6 Whittemore
3.7 Friend 1957
3.8 Whittemore
3.9 Peirce 1948 from Feuardent iii. 24
3.10 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
3.11 Whittemore
(4) I follow Mme Morrisson in taking the side with Eudocia's name and bust as the obverse, since her title βασιλίσσα is superior to Romanus' δεσπότης. The pattern is unusual for this period in having no religious image or inscription, and it may have been this, combined with the prominence accorded to Eudocia, that led to its rejection.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TWO-THIRDS MILIARESION		
			Class I		
			With bust of the Virgin		
			No inscription Bust of the Virgin facing, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, holding medallion of the Infant Christ with cross behind head. In field, MP ΘV Single border of dots	+ΘKE R,Θ,PΨMA NΨΔECΠO THTΨΔIO ΓENEI and ornament beneath. Single border of dots	1068–1071
			(a) Beneath inscr., ➡ • ⬅		
*5a.1	Æ 1.48	22 ↙			
*5a.2	Æ 1.44	22 ↓			
			(b) Beneath inscr., • • •		
*5b.1	Æ 1.44	19 ↓		R Θ for R, Θ,	
5b.2	Æ 1.35	19 ↓		R Θ for R, Θ,	
5b.3	Æ 1.06 worn	19 ↓		Ornament uncertain, but probably • • •	

5a.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. p. 526, Type 3 (The Hague), R. —
This specimen was published in *ZfN*, 36 (1926), 10, No. 27.
5a.2 Swiss Collection 1956
5b.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. 2029
This specimen was published in *ZfN*, 36 (1926), 10, No. 28.
5b.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
5b.3 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
			With bust of Christ		
			No inscription Bust of Christ, (Type VII b) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book from beneath. In field, IC XC Single border of dots	Same, but first line +KE with ornament to l. and r. Single border of dots	1068–1071
			(a) Book cover with ∴, ornament beneath inscr., ➸ • ➸		
*6a	Æ 1.44 pierced	23 ↓		• +KE•, R Θ for R, Θ,	
			(b) Book cover with ※, ornament beneath inscr., – × –		
*6b	Æ 1.43	21 ↘		➸ +KE ➸, R Θ for R, Θ,	

6a Swiss Collection 1956
W. p. 526 Type 2 var. (Sabatier coll.), R. —
This coin differs from Sabatier's illustration (Pl. LI. 1) in the absence of pear-shaped ornaments to the left and right of Christ's nimbus.

6b Bank Leu 31. x. 60
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			ONE-THIRD MILIARESION		
			No inscription Bust of the Virgin facing, nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion. To l., M̄ over ΘK̄ To r., Θ̄ over R̄Θ̄ Triple linear border	PWM Bust of Romanus facing, bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, patriarchal cross; in l., gl. cr. Triple linear border ornamented with four Δ's	1068–1071
*7.1	Æ 0.86	18 ↓			
*7.2	Æ 0.83	18 ↓			
7.3	Æ 0.72 clipped	15 ↓			
7.4	Æ 0.72 clipped and pierced	16 ↓			
7.5	Æ 0.51 clipped	14 ↙			
7.6	Æ 0.27 clipped	9 ↙			

7.1 Shaw 1947
W. 8, R. —
For the attribution and the meaning of the inscription, see above, p. 787.
7.2 Swiss Collection 1956
7.3–4 Whittemore
7.5 Peirce 1948
7.6 Whittemore
This is not an ordinary case of clipping. The flan has been cut down so that only the two heads are visible.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			FOLLIS		
			No inscription Bust of Christ, (Type VII b var.) facing, bearded, with dotted cross behind head, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book, with ⁝⁝⁝ on cover, from beneath. In field, IC and XC over NI and KA	C R P Δ Latin cross, with X at intersection and one large and two small pellets at end of each arm. To l. and r. of pellets at base, ➡ and ⬅	1068–1071
8.1	Æ 11.37	20 ↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class C, in turn overstruck on Class A2		
8.2	Æ 11.26	26 ↓		· · for ➡ ⬅	
8.3	Æ 8.75	31 ↘	Overstruck	Base ornament not clear	
*8.4	Æ 8.72	28 ↓			
8.5	Æ 8.42	25 ↓	Overstruck on Constantine X, Class 1	Base ornament not clear	
8.6	Æ 8.07	25 ↓			
8.7	Æ 7.80	26 ↓			
8.8	Æ 7.67	29 ↘		· · instead of ➡ ⬅	

8.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 9–13, R. 2030
8.2 Peirce 1948
8.3 Whittemore
8.4–5 Schindler 1960
8.6 Whittemore
8.7 Peirce 1948 from Platt vi. 26
8.8 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
8.9	Æ	7.60	27	↙	Overstruck on Anonymous Class G		1068–1071
*8.10	Æ	7.17	27	↘			
8.11	Æ	6.90	27	↙	Overstruck on Anonymous Class G		
8.12	Æ	6.76	26	↘			
8.13	Æ	6.26	28	↓	Overstruck		
8.14	Æ	5.52	26	↓			
8.15	Æ	5.49	30	↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class G		
*8.16	Æ	5.14	25	↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class G		
8.17	Æ	4.92	24	↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class G		
8.18	Æ	4.34	27	↓	Overstruck		
8.19	Æ	3.73 worn	25	↙		Double struck	

8.9 Schindler 1960
8.10 Peirce 1948 from the Fürstenberg Sale, lot 1718
Illustrated by Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, Pl. 47.2
8.11 Peirce 1948
8.12 Whittemore
8.13 Shaw 1947
8.14–15 Schindler 1960
8.16 Peirce 1948 from Egger
8.17 Schindler 1960
8.18 Swiss Collection 1956
8.19 Whittemore

MICHAEL VII Ducas

October 1071 – 31 March 1078

(Augustus from *c.*1060)

Colleagues: Andronicus (to 1074/77) and Constantius, his brothers, and Constantine (from 1074), his son

Background and Chronology

Michael's early career has already been described.[1] He was associated Augustus with his father and younger brother in or soon after 1060 and was given the place of honor on the histamena struck by his stepfather Romanus IV between 1067 and 1071. In October 1071 he despatched his mother Eudocia to a monastery and seized supreme power.

Psellus has little but praise for the good qualities of his erstwhile pupil, but in every respect Michael's reign was a disaster. He was incapable of dealing with the military problems that beset the Empire, and the reputation which gave him the nickname of Parapinaces, "Peckfilcher,"[2] coupled with the debasement of the coinage during his reign, throws light on his own contribution to its economic troubles. After six years of reign he was faced with revolts in both east and west. In October 1077[3] Nicephorus Botaniates, an elderly general, revolted in Asia Minor, to be followed almost immediately by Nicephorus Bryennius in Thrace. Bryennius laid siege to Constantinople without success in December, and in the New Year the initiative passed to Botaniates. By 7 January he had obtained sufficient support in the capital for part of the congregation in Saint Sophia to create a disturbance in his favor. In March he occupied Nicaea, where on the Feast of the Annunciation (25 March) he was proclaimed emperor in the presence of the patriarch of Antioch and other notables.[4] Michael had no heart for resistance. On 31 March 1078 he abdicated in favor of his brother the Porphyrogenitus Constantius and retired first to Blachernae and then to Studion, where he assumed the monastic habit.[5] Constantius refused to accept the throne and in company with Alexius Comnenus, another possible

[1] Above, pp. 779 ff. See, in general, D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai* (1968), 42–6.

[2] Scylitzes Cont., p. 714; Zonaras xviii.16.35–6 (Bonn ed., III. 712). The explanation was given by Dölger in his review of the second (German) edition of Ostrogorsky in the *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung*, 74 (1953), 598. Owing to the rise in prices, a nomisma would buy only a medimnus of bread less a quarter (παρὰ πῖνακίου).

[3] Scylitzes Cont., p. 726.

[4] Attaleiates, pp. 256, 269–70.

[5] Bryennius, iii. 21 (pp. 123–4); Zonaras, xviii. 18. 12–13 (iii. 719–20): the day on which the Church celebrates the resurrection of Lazarus, i.e., the day before Palm Sunday, which in 1078 fell on 1 April. Michael subsequently became metropolitan of Ephesus (Zonaras, xviii. 19. 14; pp. 722–3).

candidate for supreme office, made his submission to Botaniates, who crossed the Bosphorus and entered the capital on the Tuesday of Holy Week, 3 April 1078.[6] He was immediately crowned by the Patriarch Cosmas.[7]

Coinage: Main Features

Michael VII did not, at least in theory, rule alone. His brothers Andronicus and Constantius were co-emperors from the start, Andronicus down to his death sometime between 1074 and 1077,[8] Constantius throughout the reign, while his son Constantine was raised to the imperial dignity shortly after his birth in 1074.[9] None of them was recognized in the coinage, despite the fact that Constantius had figured on histamena since 1067 and Andronicus since 1068. Michael's wife Maria of Alania (Georgia) appears on his tetartera and on one type of his miliaresion. This ran contrary to the tradition of recent centuries which gave no such right to the consorts of Byzantine emperors, and does not fit in with what Psellus tells us of her shy and retiring disposition,[10] but in his exclusion of co-emperors and admission of his wife Michael was doing no more than following the example of his father, who had associated his wife but not his children with him on the coins. In each case the histamenon was reserved for the *autocrator* alone.

Michael VII, like Louis XVI of France, was a ruler of practical interests, but, instead of repairing clocks, he occupied himself with the work of the mint. Psellus praises him for his specialized knowledge of this institution. "He had an understanding of the whole system of government expenses and revenue, both of payments from the public funds to individuals and of contributions by the public to the treasury. He knew all about the making of coins, the equilibrium of the balance and how much they should weigh, what was their permissible remedy, how the alloy was manufactured and what proportion of gold the coins should contain."[11] His experience in such matters presumably played a role in the fate of the coinage, although the misfortunes of his reign, with constant military revolts, the Seljuq devastation of Asia Minor in the years after Manzikert, the loss of Byzantine Italy, and the Norman advance across the Adriatic into the Balkans,

[6] Bryennius, iii. 23 (p. 125); Attaleiates, pp. 272–3. There was thus an interregnum of three days. Attaleiates (p. 275) refers to largesses distributed by Botaniates on Palm Sunday, but, as Polemis notes, this must have been done at Nicaea.

[7] Attaleiates, p. 273; Scylitzes Cont., p. 735. Attaleiates elsewhere (p. 215) dates his coronation 2 July 1078. Muralt assumes an error of an indiction and takes this as the date of his initial revolt; Polemis (*art. cit.*, 71) assumes that June was miscopied as July and argues for a recrowning on 2 June, the feast of the emperor's patron, St. Nicephorus.

[8] Andronicus was still alive at the date of the marriage treaty with Guiscard of 1074 (above, p. 786), but had died before November 1077 (P. Gautier, "Monodie inédite de Michel Psellos sur le basileus Andronic Doucas," *REB*, 24 [1966], 158). For what little is known about him, see Gautier, *art. cit.*, 153–70, and Polemis, *The Doukai*, 46–8. The latter dates his death too late (after 1081).

[9] He was seven years old in 1081, and in the marriage treaty with Guiscard is formally described as βασιλεύς; so he was presumably nominated emperor immediately after his birth. He ceased to be recognized as *basileus* during the reign of Nicephorus III, was re-instated by Alexius I, demoted again *c.*1088, and died *c.*1095. See Polemis, *The Doukai*, 60–3, and B. Leib, "Un basileus ignoré: Constantin Doucas (v. 1074–94)," *Byzantinoslavica*, 17 (1956), 341–59.

[10] Psellus, vii (Michael VII), chap. 9 (ed. Renauld, II. 177).

[11] *Ibid.*, chap. 2 (II. 173).

must all have contributed to the difficulties of the treasury. Michael inherited a nomisma about sixteen carats fine. It was in the course of a few years reduced to about twelve carats in the case of the histamenon, and ten carats or less in that of the tetarteron.[12] Specimens of Class III of the latter are of such poor metal that Dieudonné published one in the Bibliothèque Nationale as being of silver.[13]

GOLD COINAGE. The nomismata of Michael VII are recognizable both by their concave form and by the poor quality of their gold, which separates them from the coins of earlier Michaels, and by the fact that the obverse legend normally ends ΟΔ, i.e., ὁ Δούκας. They form two classes. Both have the same reverse, a facing bust of the emperor with scepter and globus cruciger, but different obverses: either Christ seated or a bust of Christ. Class I, with the seated Christ, is of noticeably better gold than the other,[14] but is extremely rare, which may account for the absence of any specimens in a small hoard from the Dobrudja that bridges the two reigns of Romanus IV and Michael VII.[15] On Class II Wroth called attention to two varieties in the decoration of the cover of the Gospel Book held by Christ, but the pattern of variations is in fact more complicated: ⁝▪⁝ or ⁝·⁝ in the arms of the cross in Christ's nimbus, ⁝⁝⁝[16] or ※ on the Gospel Book, ⊠ or ⊠ on the labarum, and the shaft of the labarum with or without a pellet. It is clear that the main division is that between the plain and the pelletted labarum shaft, for the plain shaft is normally associated with ※ on the book and the pelletted shaft invariably, at least so far as my records go, with ⁝⁝⁝. The normal nimbus and labarum ornament in both groups is ⁝▪⁝, ⁝·⁝ occurring only rarely. These differences have been used to distinguish subdivisions of Class II in the catalogue, but their meaning is unknown. The minor one, between ⁝▪⁝ and ⁝·⁝, may well have none at all.

The tetartera of Michael VII form three classes. All are essentially of the same type: on the obverse a bust of the Virgin holding a medallion of Christ, on the reverse the facing busts of the emperor and empress, Michael and Maria, holding between them a cross. But they differ in detail:

I. *Obv.* +ΘΚΕ ΒΟΗΘ Virgin without nimbus. Pellet in limbs of cross in nimbus of infant Christ.
   Rev. Shaft of cross without ornaments.
II. *Obv.* As before, but no pellet in nimbus of Christ.
   Rev. Shaft of cross ornamented with X.

[12] For figures, see my two articles, "The Debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century," *BZ*, 47 (1954), 385–6, 391–3, and "Notes on the Fineness of the Byzantine Solidus," *BZ*, 54 (1961), 95–7.

[13] *RN*⁴, 3 (1899), 198, No. 43.

[14] "Debasement," p. 393, Nos. 72–7. It is not very safe to argue from only a single figure for Class I, but it is borne out by the color of such specimens as I have seen.

[15] Above, p. 787 note 9. The other possibility is that the coins of Class I are from a mint other than Constantinople, but this seems to me unlikely.

[16] There are sometimes four instead of three pellets in the horizontal rows, but this is due to double striking and the slipping of the die sideways between the blows. It is always associated with a doubling of some of the lines in the design of the pallium. This point was not noted by Wroth in describing such a specimen (p. 530, No. 8).

III. *Obv.* +ΘΚΕΒΟ ΗΘΕΙ+ Virgin nimbate, with sometimes a pear-shaped object on either side of the Virgin's nimbus. Nimbus of Christ variously designed.
Rev. As Class II, but ⊙ below the X on shaft of cross.

The changing color of the gold, coupled with the variations in type, shows that this is the order of issue, though the differences between Class III and the others, combined with the fact that the cross and crescent ornaments on the staff correspond to those on one class of the miliaresia, make it possible that this was a parallel issue to the others, but of lower value. The poor quality of the gold in all three precludes the possibility of transferring any of them to Michael VI, as one scholar suggested and as would seem reasonable on general grounds.[17] The name of Michael VI's wife is unknown, and it could well have been Maria, but it is clear that all the coins belong to Michael VII. The existence of blundered specimens of Class III, with the positions of the sovereigns interchanged and Maria on the left, Michael on the right, has been noted and discussed already.[18]

SILVER COINAGE The silver coinage of Michael VII is of some complexity. The metal is always of poor quality, so that even where the exact weight of a coin can be ascertained—most specimens are pierced or broken—this throws little light on its value or denomination. The sizes of the coins, however, suggest that they fit into the established pattern of full, two-thirds, and one-third miliaresia.

The full miliaresia are of two classes, one flat and the other concave. Class I revives a type of Constantine X and Eudocia, which in turn had revived that of Basil II and Constantine VIII, thus conforming to what one may call the traditional miliaresion pattern. Class II revived a type of Constantine IX, itself based on a ceremonial issue of Romanus III, but the coins are now concave in form. Since both Classes I and II are continued by Nicephorus III they were probably parallel and not successive issues, and the fact of one being flat and the other concave suggests a differentiation in value like that suggested earlier for coins of Constantine IX.[19] Of each type there are two varieties, those in Class I being differentiated by — · — or — + — above the reverse inscription, those in Class II by the presence or absence of a conspicuous pellet beneath the right arm of the emperor or beside his right leg.

The two-thirds miliaresia form four classes. Two are of the traditional type—a bust of the Virgin on the obverse and an inscription in several lines on the reverse—but differ in the disposition of the inscription and in the accessory symbols that occur in the field. The third, of which only a single specimen is known, had a design similar to that of the "traditional" miliaresion, which perhaps explains its supersession by a fourth, having on the obverse the seated figure of Christ on a backless throne. This type had not previously occurred on silver.

[17] Baron Marchant, *Lettres* (1851), pp. 95–7, proposed to attribute all the tetartera with Michael and Maria to Michael VI. De Saulcy argued strongly against this (*Essai*, 99), and Marchant's reasoning, which was largely based on supposed differences in the ages of the emperors represented, will not stand up to examination.

[18] Above, p. 782.

[19] Above, pp. 736–7.

There are two types of one-third miliaresion, both here published for the first time. They resemble the coins of the same denomination struck under Constantine X and Romanus IV, and have either a bust of the Virgin or a bust of Christ as obverse types.

COPPER COINAGE The normal type of signed follis has on the reverse a bust of the emperor and on the obverse one of Christ, with a cross behind the head and no nimbus, flanked by IC XC above the lateral arms of the cross and two stars below them. There is a very rare variety with the IC and XC below the arms and the stars above them. There are also a number of lesser varieties, the stars often having the form of a flower, with six "petals" around a central pellet, instead of that of a true "star," and the Gospel Book held by Christ being sometimes ornamented ⁝⁝⁝ instead of ⁘. The bust of Romanus sometimes appears to be half-right instead of fully facing, but this may be only an illusion produced by double striking. The two more definite variations may indicate different mints—Hendy would assign the whole coinage to Thessalonica—or different officinae in a single mint, or be no more than the varying work of different die-sinkers or of the same die-sinker at different times. Such little information as I have been able to collect regarding find-spots does not point to any useful conclusion, and in our present state of ignorance I have attributed the whole coinage to Constantinople.

A novelty in the reign, and indeed in the century, is the existence of what is undoubtedly a half follis, published for the first time below (No. 15). It represents a belated reflection in the copper of the introduction of fractional silver coins some decades earlier, but apparently met with no success and only a single specimen is at present known.

In addition to the signed coins, Group H of the Anonymous Folles can be assigned to Michael VII, though the dates of its issue may not correspond precisely to those of the reign.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			NOMISMA		
			HISTAMENON (concave)		
			Class I		
			With Christ seated		
			No inscription Christ seated on square-backed throne (Type II b) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book, with ∴ on cover, by spine on knee. To l., IC̄ To r., X̄C̄ Double border of dots	+MIX AHΛ RACIΛOΔ Bust facing, bearded, wearing modified loros with collar-piece and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, labarum-headed scepter decorated with ∴; in l., gl. cr. with cross of four pellets. Double border of dots	1071–1078
*1.1	Æ	4.44	28 ↙		
1.2	Æ	4.39	27 ↙	+MIX AHΛ [	
1.3	Æ	4.37	27 ↓		
*1.4	Æ	4.12	28 ↓	Double struck	

1.1 Peirce 1948 from Royall Tyler (Athens) viii. 27
W. 1, R. —
1.2–3 Whittemore
1.4 Peirce 1948 from Platt

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
			With bust of Christ		
			No inscription Bust of Christ (Type Vf) facing, with long pointed beard and cross nimbus with ⁝▪⁝ or ⁝·⁝ in arms, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised before breast in blessing, l. holds book, with ※ or ⁝⁝⁝ on cover, from beneath. Double border of dots	Same inscr. and type, but the cross of the gl. cr. is solid, the labarum shaft may have a pellet, and the labarum is usually ornamented ⊠	1071–1078
			(a) No pellet on labarum shaft; nimbus and labarum ⁝▪⁝, book ※		
*2a.1	N 4.43	28 ↙		Ends RACIΛO Δ	
2a.2	N 4.38	28 ↓		Ends RA[ ]ΛOΔ	
	pierced				
*2a.3	N 4.37	27 ↓			
2a.4	N 4.37	29 ↓		Ends Δ`	
2a.5	N 4.37	29 ↙			
2a.6	N 4.35	29 ↓		+MIX AHΛ RI[	
2a.7	N 4.31	27 ↓			
2a.8	N 4.31	26 ↓			
	pierced				

2a.1 Whittemore
W. 3, R. 2032
2a.2 Mrs. Bliss 24. ix. 69 ex W. Tyler collection
2a.3–7 Whittemore
2a.8 Peirce 1948 from Spink ii. 24

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
2a.9	Æ	4.22	26	↓			
2a.10	Æ	4.19	28	↓		+MIX AHΛ RAC[	1071–1078
					(b) No pellet on labarum shaft; nimbus and labarum ∴, book ※		
*2b.1	Æ	4.33	28	↓			
*2b.2	Æ	4.33	28	↓			
					(c) No pellet on labarum shaft; nimbus and labarum ∴, book ⁝⁝⁝		
*2c.1	Æ	4.41	28	↓	Double struck		
2c.2	Æ	4.40	28	↓			
					(d) Pellet on labarum shaft; nimbus and labarum ∴, book ⁝⁝⁝		
2d.1	Æ	4.42	29	↓			
2d.2	Æ	4.40	30	↓			
	flattened						
*2d.3	Æ	4.39	28	↓			
2d.4	Æ	4.39	28	↓		+MIX [ ] RA[	
*2d.5	Æ	4.39	30	↓			
2d.6	Æ	4.38	28	↓			
2d.7	Æ	4.38	30	↘		Double struck	

2a.9 Peirce 1948
2a.10 Whittemore
2b.1 Peirce 1948 from Cahn Auction No. 60, 2. vii. 28, lot 2193
W. —, R. —
There is a contemporary cast forgery in copper of this group amongst the Peirce coins. It has been flattened and weighs only 3.34 g. (↓).
2b.2 Whittemore
2c.1–2 Whittemore
W. 5–7, R. —
2d.1 Whittemore
W. 8, R. 2033
2d.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
2d.3–7 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
2d.8	Æ 4.38	28 ↓		Ends RACIΔЄ	1071–1078
2d.9	Æ 4.37 pierced, flattened	28 ↙			
2d.10	Æ 4.37 pierced	30 ↓			
2d.11	Æ 4.35	28 ↘			
2d.12	Æ 4.35	30 ↘			
2d.13	Æ 4.32	28 ↓			
2d.14	Æ 4.32	28 ↓		Ends RACIΛЄ	
2d.15	Æ 4.32	30 ↓			
2d.16	Æ 4.32 ring attached	29 ↓		+MX ΛH NACIΛ	
2d.17	Æ 4.31	30 ↓			
2d.18	Æ 4.30	29 ↙		Ends RACIΛЄ	
2d.19	Æ 4.26	28 ↓			
2d.20	Æ 4.22	28 ↓		Ends Δ`	
2d.21	Æ 4.21	29 ↙		+MIX ΛHΛ R[ ]Δ	
2d.22	Æ 4.13 pierced	29 ↓			
			(e) Pellet on labarum shaft; nimbus ∴, labarum :·:, book ⁝⁝⁝		
*2e	Æ 4.34	29 ↓			

2d.8 Shaw 1947
The Δ in the inscription is presumably an error for Λ, so that like Nos. 2d.14 and 2d.18 the inscription ended with βασιλεύς, ὁ Δούκας being omitted.
2d.9 Whittemore
2d.10 Peirce 1948
2d.11–22 Whittemore
2e Peirce 1948 from Bourgey iii. 24

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TETARTERON		
			Class I		
			+ΘΚΕ ΡΟΗΘ Bust of the Virgin facing, wearing tunic and maphorion, holding medallion of the Infant Christ with cross behind head, pellet in each limb. In field, MP ΘV Single border of dots	+MIX AHΛ MAPIA Half-length figures of Michael (on l.) and Maria (on r.), facing, holding between them long cross, with terminal pellets to arms, on plain shaft. Michael wears modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia, Maria modified loros with collar-piece and crown with pinnacles and pendilia. Single border of dots	1071–1078
*3.1	Æ 4.07	19 ↓	No pellet in cross	+MIXA HΛ ƆMAPIA Same die as 3.5	
3.2	Æ 4.06	19 ↙			
3.3	Æ 4.05	18 ↓			
*3.4	Æ 4.04	20 ↙			
3.5	Æ 4.01	20 ↓		Same die as 3.1, but coin of much paler gold	
3.6	Æ 4.01	18 ↓			

3.1 Whittemore
W. —, R. 2046
3.2–5 Whittemore
3.6 Peirce 1948 from Spink iii. 29

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
			Same inscr. and type, but no pellet in cross	+MIXAHΛ SMAPIA Same type, but X on shaft of cross	1071–1078
*4.1	Æ 4.04	20 ↙			
4.2	Æ 4.00	18 ↓		+MI XAHΛ SM PA	
4.3	Æ 3.99	19 ↓		Ends SM APIA	
4.4	Æ 3.98	17 ↓			
	pierced				
*4.5	Æ 3.82	17 ↓		Ends SMA PIA	
			Class III		
			+ΘKERO HΘEI+ Same type, but Virgin nimbate, with sometimes pear-shaped ornament to l. and r., nimbus of Christ variously designed	Same inscr. and type, but X and ⊙ on shaft of cross	
			(a) Nothing beside Virgin's nimbus; nothing in arms of Christ's cross		
*5a.1	Æ 4.04	19 ↓		+MIX AHΛ SMA PIA	
*5a.2	Æ 4.03	19 ↙		+MIX AHΛ SMA PIA	
5a.3	Æ 3.99	20 ↙		+MI X AHΛ SMA PIA	

4.1 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. 11, R. —
4.2–4 Whittemore
4.5 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
5 For blundered specimens of Class III, with the positions of Michael and Maria interchanged, see above, p. 782.
5a.1 Whittemore
W. 12, R. —
5a.2 Whittemore
5a.3 Peirce 1948

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
5a.4	Æ 3.98 pierced	20 ↓		+MI X AHΛ SMA PIA	1071–1078
			(b) Nothing beside Virgin's nimbus; pellet in each arm of Christ's cross		
*5b.1	Æ 4.03	19 ↙	+Θ[ ]HΘEI+	+MI XAHΛ SMA PIA	
*5b.2	Æ 3.96	20 ↙		+MI XAHΛ SMA PIA	
5b.3	Æ 3.86 very base	19 ↓		+MIXAHΛ SMAPIA	
			(c) Nothing beside Virgin's nimbus; pellets replace arms of Christ's cross		
*5c	Æ 3.84	20 ↓	+ΘKERO [	] AHΛ [ ]PIA	
			(d) Pear-shaped ornaments beside Virgin's nimbus; pellets replace arms of Christ's cross		
*5d.1	Æ 4.00	23 ↙		+MI X AHΛ SMA PIA	
5d.2	Æ 3.25 very base	19 ↓		]PIA	

5a.4 Whittemore

5b.1 Peirce 1948
W. —, R. 2044

5b.2 Peirce 1948 from Cahn sale 2. vii. 28, lot 2195

5b.3 Whittemore
A coin of base metal, with traces of previous gilding. Perhaps a contemporary forgery. Cf. R. 2045, described as "faux de l'époque, en bronze doré."

5c Whittemore
W. 14, R. —

5d.1 Whittemore
W. 13, R. —
There is another specimen of this variety in the BN (*BNC*, II. 656/16; published by Dieudonné in *RN*[4], 3 [1899], 198, No. 43, Pl. III. 28), and there was one in the "Russian Nobleman" Sale, lot 153.

5d.2 Whittemore
A coin of base metal, with traces of previous gilding. Perhaps a contemporary forgery.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			MILIARESION *Class I* (flat) Michael and Maria		
			ЄNTЧTѠNIKATЄ MI XAHΛSMAPIA Cross crosslet above three steps, each arm ending in a pellet and with a pellet at either side below, with X at the central crossing, and ʊ on the shaft. To l., bust of Michael facing, wearing chlamys with tablion and crown with cross and pendilia; to r., bust of Maria wearing modified loros with collar-piece and crown with pinnacles and pendilia. Triple linear border	MIXAHΛ KAIMAPIA ΠICTOIRA CIΛЄICPѠ MAIѠN — • — with varying ornament above. Triple linear border	1071–1078
			(a) — + — above rev. inscr.		
*6a.1	Æ 2.46 pierced	26 ↓		Pellet at end of inscr.	

6 Wroth describes Michael as wearing "jewelled robe," and at first glance it looks like a loros. It is in fact a chlamys, fastened at the emperor's left shoulder for reasons of symmetry, with the hem and the outline of the tablion each marked with a row of pellets. One or more pellets also decorate the interior of the tablion.

The word ΠICTOI in the reverse inscription is often broken by a pellet (ΠICT·OI), but since this was incidental to the making of the die and does not form part of the inscription its presence or absence has not been noted.

6a.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 15–16, R. 2048

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*6a.2	Æ 1.93 pierced	24 ↘	TOVTW and MIXAHΛ KAIMAPIA		1071–1078
			(b) — • — above rev. inscr.		
*6b.1	Æ 2.13	23 ↑	NIKAT (without Є)		
6b.2	Æ 1.96 pierced	24 ↖	TOVTW and MIXAH ΛKAIMAIIA		
6b.3	Æ 1.87 pierced and clipped	22 ↘	TOVTWNIKAT and MIXAHΛKAIMAPIA	RACIΛHC for RACIΛЄIC	
			(c) Upper ornament illegible		
6c	Æ 2.06	22 ↑	TOVTW and [MIX]A HΛKAIMAPIA	RACIΛHC for RACIΛЄIC	
			Class II (concave)		
			Emperor standing		
			+ΘKЄROHΘЄI TWC WΔOVΛW Virgin standing facing, on rectangular footstool, nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion. In field, $\overline{MP}$ $\overline{ΘV}$ Double linear border	+MIXAHΛ RACIΛ OΔKA Michael, bearded, standing facing, wearing military dress and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, long cross; l. hand rests on sword in sheath. Double linear border	

6a.2 Peirce 1948 from Spink xi. 27
6b.1 Peirce 1948 from Cahn sale, 2. vii. 28, lot 2196
W. 17, R. 2047
6b.2 Swiss Collection 1956
6b.3 Schindler 1960
6c Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(a) No globule in rev. field		1071–1078
*7a.1	Æ 2.48 pierced	27 ↓		+MIXAHΛ R[ ]Λ	
*7a.2	Æ 2.06 chipped	24 ↘			
7a.3	Æ 1.96 clipped	23 ↓		+MIXAHΛ RAC[ ]O ΔK[	
			(b) Globule beneath Michael's r. elbow		
*7b.1	Æ 1.92	25 ↓	M̄ for M̄H̄P̄	Ends OΔЧK′	
7b.2	Æ 1.32 pierced and clipped	21 ↓	+ΘKЄROHΘЄI [ ]O VΛЩ M̄P̄ for M̄H̄P̄	] RACIΛOΔIƆ (?)	
			(c) Globule by Michael's l. leg		
(7c)	Æ 1.98 pierced and broken	25	(W. 18)		

7a.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 19–20, R. 2035
7a.2 Peirce 1948 from Ars Classica Sale XV, 2. vii. 30, lot 2126
7a.3 Peirce 1948 from Egger
7b.1 Schindler 1960
W. —, R. 2036
7b.2 Whittemore
(7c) There is another specimen of this variety, much broken, in Berlin.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TWO-THIRDS MILIARESION *Class I* Bust of Virgin; last line of rev. inscr. ΤΨΔΥΚΑ		
			No inscription Bust of Virgin facing, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion, holding medallion of Christ, nimbate, with one pellet in each arm of nimbus cross. To l., pellet above MP To r., pellet above ΘV Single border of dots	+ΘΚΕ ΡΟΗΘΕΙ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΔΕCΠΟΤΗ ΤΨΔΥΚΑ – • – all in border of dots	1071–1078
*8.1	Æ 1.45	21 ↘		Last letter of third-fifth lines illegible	
*8.2	Æ 1.33 pierced	20 ↓	M for MP	A for A, ΜΙΧ•ΑΗΛ	
8.3	Æ 1.26 chipped	26 ↓	No pellets in cross	A for A, – • – broken away	
8.4	Æ 1.14	21 ↘	M for MP	Double struck; the coin turned over between the dies	
*8.5	Æ 1.05 chipped	19 ↓	MD for MP	ΔΚΑ for ΔΥΚΑ, perhaps due to double striking	

8.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 22–23, R. 2037
8.2 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
8.3 Whittemore
8.4–5 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II		
			Bust of Virgin; last line of rev. inscr. – KA –		
			Same type, but variations in detail	– + – ΘKER,Θ, MIXAHΛ ΔECΠOTH TWΔOV – KA – all in single border	1071–1078
*9.1	Æ 1.25	21 ↘	Dotted border; no pellets in cross of nimbus; ·:· instead of pellet on either side of Virgin's nimbus; M for MP	Dotted border	
9.2	Æ 1.20	21 ↓	Dotted border; nimbus cross obscure; pear-shaped ornaments on either side of Virgin's nimbus; M for MP	Dotted border; – KA – off flan	
*9.3	Æ 1.07	20 ↓	Linear border broken by four pellets; pellets in nimbus cross; ornaments by Virgin's nimbus obscure; MP for MP	Linear border broken by four pellets	

9 The coins of Class II, which are rarer than those of Class I, form several varieties, but so few are known that I have not tried to make any systematic classification, more especially since the condition of many specimens is too bad for all details to be fully visible. The silver is manifestly of extremely poor quality.

9.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. —
This specimen was published by Bertelè in *ZfN*, 36 (1926), 11, No. 29.

9.2 Whittemore

9.3 Schindler 1960 acq. in 1917
One pellet (at top) is visible on the linear border on the obverse, two (to r. and below) on that of the reverse, the rest being off flan or too worn for legibility. The full complement of four was clearly visible on a specimen I saw in trade some years ago.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
9.4	Æ 1.03	19 ↑	Linear border with four pellets; pellets in nimbus cross; apparently no ornaments by Virgin's nimbus; form of MP obscure	Linear border with four pellets	1071–1078
			Class III		
			Michael and Maria		
*(10)	Æ 0.90	19	Same inscr. and type as Class I, but one dotted border instead of triple linear one and six pellets instead of three at base of cross (Former Longuet coll.)	– + – ΘΚΕR,Θ, ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΔΕCΠΟΤΗ ΤΨΔΟV – KA – Single border of dots	

9.4 Whittemore
The obverse is so worn and corroded that very little can be made out. The bottom pellet on the linear border can just be seen on the obverse, faint traces of all four pellets on the reverse.

(10) Published by H. Longuet, "Notes de numismatique byzantine," *RN*[5], 2 (1938), 7, No. 8, Pl. I. 8. This coin was not included in the Longuet sale, and its present whereabouts in unknown to me.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class IV		
			Christ seated		
			No inscription Christ seated on backless throne (Type II) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised to side in blessing, l. holds book, with ∴ on cover, by spine on knee. In field, IC XC sometimes with pearshaped ornaments above. Single border of dots	– + – +KER,Θ, MIXAHΛ ΔECΠOTH TΨΔOVKA – • – (or variant) Single border of dots	1071–1078
			(a) Pear-shaped ornament in field; inscr. as given		
*11a	Æ 1.45	19 ↓	IC illegible	Final A illegible	
			(b) No ornament in field; inscr. differently arranged		
(11b)	Æ 1.08	19	(W. 21)	Same inscr., but begins – • – and ends TΨΔOV ‖ – KA –	

11a Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. —, R. —
Another specimen was in Kress Sale 132, 8. ii. 65, lot 1044.

(11b) Other specimens in Paris (*BNC*, II.657/06; first published by Dieudonné in *RN*[4], 3 [1899], 198, No. 42) and in the Hess-Bank Leu Sale 19, 12. iv. 62, lot 606 (= Münzen und Medaillen Basel, list 229 [August 1953], No. 42).

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			ONE THIRD MILIARESION *Class I* Bust of the Virgin		
*12	Æ 0.53 clipped	15 ↓	No inscription Bust of the Virgin facing, nimbate, *orans*, wearing tunic and maphorion. In field, [MP] ΘV Single border of dots MP illegible	– + – +ΘKER,Θ, MIXAHΛ ΔECΠOTH TΨΔOV – KA – Single border of dots	1071–1078
			Class II Bust of Christ		
			No inscription Bust of Christ (Type VII b) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book, with ⁝⁝⁝ on cover, from beneath. In field, IC XC Single border of dots	Similar inscription	

12 Whittemore
W. —, R. —

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
13a	Æ	0.61	15	↓		– · – instead of – + –	1071–1078
13b	Æ	0.53	15	↑	X̄C̄ off flan	– instead of – + – ends · KA ·	
					FOLLIS		
					No inscription Bust of Christ (Type V e) facing, bearded, with cross behind head, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised before breast in blessing, l. holds book from beneath. In field, Ī C̄ and X̄C̄ above lateral arms of cross, six-pointed stars beneath them	+MIX AHΛ RACIOΔ Bust facing, bearded, wearing modified loros with collar-piece and crown with cross and pendilia, holding in r. hand labarum, in l., gl. cr.	
					(a) ※ on Gospel Book		
14a.1	Æ	8.81	26	↘			
*14a.2	Æ	7.79	27	↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class G	Ends RACIΛΔ	
14a.3	Æ	7.65	27	↓		Ends RACIΛ[	

13a Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. —

13b Peirce 1948 from Andronicus
W. —, R. —
There is another specimen of this variety (0.60 g., pierced) in a private collection at Athens.

14 The striking of these coins is as a rule extremely slovenly and most of the specimens here are very worn. This explains the poor quality of the illustrations.

14a.1 Peirce 1948
W. 24–25, R. 2041

14a.2 Peirce 1948 from Fejer (Budapest)

14a.3 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*14a.4	Æ	6.79	26	↓	Star has form ✳	Double struck	1071–1078
14a.5	Æ	5.34	26	↓		+MIX[ ] RACIΛ[	
14a.6	Æ	4.15	26	↓	Star has form ✳	] AHΛ [ ]CIΛOΔ	
*14a.7	Æ	3.64	26	↓	Overstruck on Romanus IV	] RACIΛOΔ	
					(b) ⁝⁝⁝ on Gospel Book		
14b.1	Æ	8.35	25	↓	Overstruck on Romanus IV	Inscr. illegible	
14b.2	Æ	8.05	27	↓	Overstruck on Romanus IV	Inscr. off flan	
14b.3	Æ	7.69	29	↓	Overstruck on Romanus IV	]HΛ RA[	
14b.4	Æ	7.48	25	↓		]ACIΛΔ	
*14b.5	Æ	6.77	29	↓	Overstruck on Romanus IV, in turn overstruck on Class G	] RACIΛOΔ	
14b.6	Æ	5.49	24	↓	Overstruck on Romanus IV	Inscr. illegible	
14b.7	Æ	5.14	27	↓	Double struck, and overstruck on Romanus IV	+MI[ ] RACIΛOΔ Double struck	
					(c) Ornament on Gospel Book obscure		
14c.1	Æ	8.61	27	↘	Overstruck on Romanus IV	+MIX AHΛ R[	

14a.4 Schindler 1960
The half-right aspect of the emperor's bust on this coin is an illusion produced by double striking.
14a.5–7 Swiss Collection 1956
14b.1–2 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 26–28, R. 2042–3
14b.3 Peirce 1948 from Lincoln xi. 32
14b.4 Swiss Collection 1956
14b.5–6 Schindler 1960
14b.7 Whittemore
14c.1–2 Swiss Collection 1956

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
14c.2	Æ	7.70	31	↓	Overstruck on Romanus IV	Inscr. illegible	1071–1078
14c.3	Æ	4.59	25	↘	Overstruck on Romanus IV	Inscr. illegible	
14c.4	Æ	3.83	24	↓	Overstruck on Romanus IV	Countermarked ﷺ	
14c.5	Æ	3.24	26	↓		]ΙΧΑ[ ] ΡΑCΙΛΟΔ	
					(d) IC XC beneath arms of cross, stars above		
*(14d)	Æ	5.62	28		(W. 29–30; Gospel Book with ※, stars ⁂)		
					HALF FOLLIS		
					Same type, with ※ on Gospel Book	+ ΜΙΧΛ ΡΑCΙΛΟΔ Same type	
*15	Æ	3.56	20	↓	Stars ⁂		

14c.3 Schindler 1960

14c.4 Schindler 1960 from Dr. Ehrendorfer 4. v. 56

14c.5 Whittemore

(14d) These two BM specimens are the only ones known to me of this variety. Both are from the H. P. Borrell Sale, which suggests that they came from Asia Minor and perhaps points to local minting.

15 Whittemore

W. —, R. —

This is not a clipped follis—the slightly bevelled edges show no sign of clipping—but a different denomination. The type of the obverse is only slightly smaller than that of the follis, but that of the reverse is much smaller and the inscription differently spaced, with the initial + separated from ΜΙΧ.

NICEPHORUS III Botaniates

3 April 1078 – 1 April 1081

The effective reign of Nicephorus III dates from his occupation of Constantinople on 3 April 1078. It lasted for three years almost to the day. Botaniates may once have been a competent general, but he was by now an incapable figurehead. The occupation of Asia Minor by the Turks continued almost unchecked, and a series of pretenders threatened his position at home. His marriage was a major scandal.[1] His second wife Berdena, who had been acclaimed at the same time as himself, died shortly afterward, and he determined to strengthen his position by marrying some member of the former ruling house, who would bring with her both the aura of royalty and the support of the powerful Ducas family. His choice lay between Eudocia Macrembolitissa, widow of Constantine X, Eudocia's daughter Zoe, and Eudocia's daughter-in-law Maria of Alania, wife of the deposed Michael VII. His choice fell on Maria, who was apparently the most attractive, and, despite the fact that her husband was still alive, a complaisant priest was found to marry them. For a time things went well, but he had not reckoned on Maria's devotion to the interests of her son Constantine by her first marriage. When Botaniates thought of settling the throne on one of his own relatives, Nicephorus Synadenos, Maria invoked the help of Alexius Comnenus, who felt himself inadequately rewarded for his immense services to Botaniates and feared the enmity of some of the emperor's most intimate counsellors. In the last week of March 1081 Alexius was proclaimed emperor in Thrace, and his troops entered the capital on the morning of 1 April.[2] Nicephorus abdicated the same day, taking refuge in Saint Sophia; he was then transferred to the monastery of the Peribleptos, where he accepted most unwillingly the monastic habit and died shortly afterward.[3] Alexius was presumably proclaimed in the city on the 1st and crowned on the 4th,[4] duly fulfilling his part of the bargain with Maria by recognizing the young Constantine's former rank as basileus and betrothing him to his daughter Anna.[5]

The reign of Nicephorus saw a further deplorable debasement of the supposedly "gold" coinage, which was by now poor-quality electrum; his coins rarely rise above nine carats

[1] B. Leib, "Nicephore Botaniatès (1078–1081) et Marie d'Alanie," *Actes du VI Congrès international des études byzantines, Paris, 1948*, I (Paris, 1950), 129–40.

[2] Alexiad, ii. 10. 4 (ed. Leib, I. 94).

[3] Alexiad, ii. 9–12; iii. 1 (90–102).

[4] The date is nowhere given, but the coronation could hardly have taken place on the 1st, when fighting was still in progress, or on the 2nd, since this was Good Friday, and it would be natural to postpone it to Easter Day. This is confirmed by the fact that Irene was crowned empress exactly a week later (Alexiad, iii. 2. 7; p. 110), i.e., on a Sunday.

[5] For Constantine's career, and his position under Alexius, see Polemis, *The Doukai*, 60–3.

in fineness.[6] Maria of Alania is associated with him on some of his silver but not on any of his gold, though she had figured on the tetartera of Michael VII. His reign is one of the very few in Byzantine history in which pretenders to the throne struck coins without having occupied Constantinople and received the crown at the patriarch's hands.

Three classes of histamena and two of tetartera were struck during the reign. Class I of the histamenon has for its types a bust of Christ and a bust of the emperor; Classes II and III have a seated Christ and a standing emperor, but the throne of Christ on Class II is square-backed and on Class III it is without back. Classes II and III give Nicephorus his family name of Botaniates, so their attribution is not in doubt. Class I, which like Class II is very rare, merely calls him *despotes*. One is consequently tempted to attribute it to one of the other Nicephori who set themselves up during his reign, the more so since the portrait is rather different—the face is longer and narrower than that of most coins of Class III—and there are minor divergences in detail, such as pendilia ending in three pearls instead of two. Specimens of Class III with a rather long, narrow face do, however, occur, and contemporary allusions to *staurobotaniati*, which can only refer to these coins—on Classes II and III the emperor holds a labarum, not a cross scepter—make their attribution to Botaniates certain. I would suggest that they represent the first issue of the reign—a very brief one, to judge both from their rarity and from their absence from the Dinogetia hoard[7]—but that with Bryennius' refusal to accept terms in April 1078 it was thought expedient to put the emperor's family name on the coins and thus avoid uncertainty regarding the particular Nicephorus whom they represented. The reason for the transition from Class II (very rare) to Class III (very common) is obscure. The most obvious difference in the imperial figures is the absence of an X on the staff of the labarum in Class II, but there is also a curious pear-shaped object hanging from the emperor's hand in Class III.

Class I of the tetarteron, with a bust of Christ and one of the emperor, corresponds to Class I of the histamenon; it has the same portrait and the title of despot only, besides being extremely rare. Class II, with a bust of Christ and a standing figure of the emperor, divides into two sub-classes, a very rare one corresponding to Class II of the histamenon having no X on the staff of the labarum and a slightly commoner one, corresponding to Class III of the histamenon, having an X on the staff. The tetarteron must have been struck in only small quantities, and is of very poor metal indeed.

There are two classes of miliaresia, both of badly debased silver and usually found in a much damaged condition. The types correspond to those of the preceding reign: a concave coin having effigies of the Virgin and the emperor standing, with a pellet beneath the emperor's arm as on similar coins of Michael VII; a flat coin having on the obverse a cross and two busts and on the reverse an inscription. There is also, at Dumbarton Oaks, what from its obverse type, a bust of the Virgin, should perhaps be regarded as a two-thirds miliaresion, though the texture of the coin gives the impression of being silvered copper. Sabatier published a further silver piece having on the obverse a bust of the Virgin and on the reverse an inscription giving Nicephorus the title of σεβαστός, but

[6] Grierson, "The Debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century," *BZ*, 47 (1954), 386, 393; above, pp. 40, 41.

[7] Above, p. 787 and note 9.

this was not at that time used for emperors and Wroth explains it, I believe correctly, as an impression in silver of a seal, or perhaps a seal described in error as a coin.[8]

The signed folles which can be attributed to Nicephorus III have on the obverse a three-quarter length figure of Christ, with a star on either side, and on the reverse the letters CΦNΔ in the angles of a cross having in its center a star within a circle. That Φ stands for ΦVΛATTЄ we know, from seals, so the letters must represent Σταυρὲ φύλαττε Νικήφορον δεσπότη.[9] The effigy of Christ, that of the icon in the Chalcoprateia known as the Christ Antiphonetes, is discussed in the Introduction.[10]

Anonymous Folles of Class I are shown by the evidence of overstriking to belong to the reign of Nicephorus III. His copper coinage is astonishingly common for so short a reign.

[8] Wroth, p. 537, from Sabatier, II. 181, No. 8, Pl. LI. 17. The idea that it might have been struck as a coin before Botaniates became emperor seems to me farfetched. Seals with the same inscription (ΘKЄ RΘ NIKHΦOP CЄBACTΩ TO BOTANЄIAT) are known; see G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* (1884), 625 (from Mordtmann) and "Sceaux byzantins inédits (cinquième série)," *RN*[4], 9 (1905), 339. Unfortunately Schlumberger does not give their size. The illustration of the reverse of the "coin" in Sabatier has two depressions on the edge which resemble those commonly found on seals.

[9] For C standing for Σταυρέ, not Κύριε, see above, p. 183.

[10] Above, p. 162.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Constantinople		
			HISTAMENON (concave)		
			Class I		
			Bust of Christ; bust of Nicephorus		
			No inscription Bust of Christ (Type VII b) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having ·· in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book, with ⁝⁝⁝ on cover, from beneath. In field, IC̄ and X̄C̄ Double border of dots	+NIK H ΦP ΔЄCΠT Bust of emperor facing, bearded, wearing modified loros with collar-piece and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, cross scepter; in l., gl. cr. Double border of dots	1078–1081
1.1	El. 4.39 pierced	30 ↓			
1.2	El. 4.35	30 ↙			
*1.3	El. 4.34	29 ↓			
*1.4	El. 4.25	30 ↓			

1–3 These coins are all of poor electrum, very pale in color, without any sign of one class being of better alloy than another. On Class I the pendilia end in three pellets and the cross of the globus cruciger is made of five pellets; on Classes II and III the pendilia end in two pellets and the cross is solid. The *phi* in Nicephorus' name is less a Φ than a cross with a narrow crossbar. In Classes II and III, there are four pellets in the hanging end of the emperor's loros unless the contrary is indicated.

1.1 Whittemore
W. 1–4, R. 2049

1.2 Schindler 1960

1.3 Swiss Collection 1956

1.4 Peirce 1948

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II Christ seated on square-backed throne; Nicephorus standing		
			No inscription Christ seated on square-backed throne (Type II b) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds book, with ∴ on cover, by spine on knee. In field, IC and XC Double border of dots	+NIKHΦPΔЄCΠ TΩR OTANIAT′ Emperor standing facing on dais, bearded, wearing modified loros and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, labarum; in l., gl. cr. Double border of dots	1078–1081
*2	El. 4.08	29 ↙		Ends [T]ΩΠOTANI ΔT′	
			Class III Christ seated on backless throne; Nicephorus standing		
			Similar, but the throne is without back, the figure of Christ is smaller and slenderer, and his r. hand is raised to r. in blessing (Type III)	+NIKHΦΔЄCΠ TΩPOTANIAT Same type, but pear-shaped object suspended from emperor's l. hand and X on shaft of labarum.	

2 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 5–6, R. 2050

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
					(a) One pellet in each arm of cross		1078–1081
*3a.1	El.	4.42	28	↓			
3a.2	El.	4.38	30	↓			
3a.3	El.	4.34	30	↓		+NI[ ] TωROTA NIAT′	
3a.4	El.	4.33	29	↘		+NIKHΘPΔ TωROT AN[5 pellets in loros end	
3a.5	El.	4.32	32	↓		]ΔЄ TωROTA NIA T′ 5 pellets in loros end	
*3a.6	El.	4.31	28	↓		ΔЄC for ΔЄCΠ	
					(b) No pellets in arms of cross		
3b.1	El.	4.45	29	↙		Ends TωROTAN[	
3b.2	El.	4.40	28	↓			
3b.3	El.	4.40	29	↙		ΔЄC for ΔЄCΠ	
3b.4	El.	4.38	30	↓		+N[ ]ΔЄC etc.	
3b.5	El.	4.37	29	↙		ROTΔN for ROTAN	
3b.6	El.	4.35	31	↓		+NI[ ]ΦΔЄCΠ Tω etc.	
*3b.7	El.	4.34	29	↙			
3b.8	El.	4.34	32	↓		+NIKHΦ[ ] Tω etc. 5 pellets in loros end	
3b.9	El.	4.33	30	↙		ΔЄC for ΔЄCΠ	
3b.10	El.	4.31	28	↙			
3b.11	El.	4.30	29	↓		ΔЄC for ΔЄCΠ	
*3b.12	El.	4.29	30	↓		5 pellets in loros end	
3b.13	El.	4.29	30	↓		]ЄCΠ TωROTANI[	
3b.14	El.	4.12	29	↓		]ЄCΠ TωROTAN[	

3a.1 Peirce 1948 from Raymond xii. 29
W. 11, R. —
3a.2–5 Whittemore
3a.6 Peirce 1948 from Raymond 1928
3b.1–9 Whittemore
W. 7–9, R. 2051
3b.10–14 Whittemore

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
3b.15	El. 3.72	28 ↓			1078–1081
3b.16	El. 3.16	27 ↓		+NIKH+IC TWROT ANIATH 5 pellets in loros end	
			TETARTERON		
			Class I		
			Bust of Christ; bust of Nicephorus		
			No inscription Bust of Christ, as on Class I of the histamenon (Type VIIb), but Gospel Book ornamented ∴ and only one outer border of dots	+NI[ ] ΔECΠT' Bust of emperor facing, wearing elaborate chlamys and crown with cross and pendilia, holding in r. hand labarum scepter, in l., gl. cr. Single border of dots	
*4	El. 3.93	20 ↓			
			Class II		
			Bust of Christ; Nicephorus standing		
			No inscription Same type, but number of pellets in each arm of cross variable	Inscription Emperor standing, as on Class II of the histamenon	

3b.15–16 Whittemore

These two coins are exceptionally base in appearance, as well as being low in weight. Whether they are products of the official mint is hard to say.

4–5 Classes I, IIa, and IIb of the tetarteron correspond to Classes I, II, and III of the histamenon respectively. The types are not identical, however, since the small flan of the tetarteron was unsuited to the representation of a seated Christ.

4 Peirce 1948 from Spink iv. 31

W. —, R. —

There was another specimen of this rare coin in the Foreign Prince Sale, lot 215.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			(a) Nothing on staff of labarum		1078–1081
*5a	El. 4.03	20 ↓	One pellet	+NKHΦOPOC TωRO TANIAT'	
			(b) X on staff of labarum		
*5b	El. 3.94	23 ↓	One pellet (?)	[+]NIKHΦΔЄC TωRO TANIAT'	
*5c.1	El. 4.03	20 ↓	Two pellets	+NIKH[ ] TωЯOT AN[	
*5c.2	El. 3.96	21 ↓	Two pellets	+NIKHΦΔЄC TωRO TANIAT'	
*5c.3	El. 3.78	20 ↓	Two pellets	+NIKHΦΔЄCΠ TωRO TANIAT'	
(5d)	El. 3.86	20 ↓	Nothing (Hess-Bank Leu sale 12. iii. 62, lot 608)		

5 This differs from Class II of the histamenon in that, on account of the small size, the labarum has only one pellet above it instead of three (∴) and one inside it instead of five (⁝⁝). Also, nothing is suspended from the emperor's left hand.

5a Münzen und Medaillen Auction XXV, 17.xi.62, lot 729
W. —, R. —

5b Peirce 1948 from Spink iii. 32
W. —, R. —
The pellets in the nimbus cross seem to be square instead of circular in shape, but owing to the die having slipped in the striking those in the left and upper cross-arms have become short bars.

5c.1 Whittemore
W. —, R. —

5c.2 Whittemore

5c.3 Peirce 1948 from Andronicus

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			MILIARESION *Class I* (flat) Inscr.; cross and two busts		
			– + – NIKHΦP KAIMAPIA ΠICTOIRA CIΛEICPW MAIWN – • – Triple linear border	[+NIKHΦKAIMAPIA ENTOVT]ωNIKATE Patriarchal cross crosslet on globus and three steps, with X at lower intersection, ⊙ on shaft, and pellet at end of each cross-arm. In l. field, bust of Nicephorus, in r. field, bust of Maria, each wearing appropriate crown and modified loros. Triple linear border	1078–1081
*6	B 1.48 worn	22 ↓			

6–8 These coins are of such poor quality silver that they are better described as billon.
6 Schindler 1960
W. p. 537, Pl. LXIII. 8 (Berlin), R. —

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Class II (concave)		
			Two standing figures		
			+ΘKЄROHΘ' TCѠΔ ЧΛѠ Virgin standing on carpet facing, orans, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion. Double linear border	+NIKHΦΔЄC TѠRO TAN' Emperor standing facing, wearing scale armor, cloak, and crown with cross and pendilia. In r. hand, long cross with pellet at end of each arm; l. hand on hilt of sheathed sword resting with point on the ground. Pellet beneath r. elbow. Single linear border	1078–1081
			(a) No letters in obv. field		
*7a	B 1.80	25 ↓	Double struck		
			(b) $\overline{\text{MP}}$ and $\overline{\text{ΘV}}$ in obv. field		
*7b.1	B 1.66 pierced	23 ↘	+ΘKCROHΘЄ' TѠC [Ѡ]ΔЧΛ	+NIKHΦ[	
*7b.2	B 1.58 chipped	25 ↓	] TѠCѠΔOUΛ	]TANIAT	

7a Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. —

7b.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. —
Published by Bertelè in *ZfN*, 36 (1926), 11, No. 30, Pl. I. 30 (this coin)
The figure of the Virgin on this coin is much larger than on the preceding or following ones.

7b.2 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. —
This coin is too badly corroded and fragmentary to justify reproduction. Published (but not illustrated) by Bertelè, *loc. cit.*, No. 31.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			TWO-THIRDS MILIARESION (flat)		
			No inscription Bust of the Virgin facing, nimbate, orans, wearing tunic and maphorion. In field, M̄ and Θ̄ Single border of dots	+NIKHΦ[ ]AT, Emperor standing, etc., as on Class II of histamenon. Single border of dots	1078–1081
*8	B 0.88	21 ↓	Θ̄ illegible		
			FOLLIS		
			No inscription Three-quarter-length figure of Christ Antiphonetes (Type IVc) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus having pellet in each arm, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in front of body, l. holds book, with ∴ on cover, from beneath. In field, two stars above which IC̄ and XC̄ Single border of dots	Cross of equal arms ending in globules. In the center, circle within which star of eight rays. In angles, C Φ N Δ Single border of dots	
9.1	Æ 8.98	30 ↘			
*9.2	Æ 7.98	24 ↙			
9.3	Æ 7.67	26 ↑			

8 Swiss Collection 1956
W. —, R. —
Published by Bertelè, *art. cit.*, 11, No. 32, Pl. I. 32

9.1 Swiss Collection 1956
W. 12–21, R. 2053

9.2 Shaw 1947

9.3 Whittemore

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
9.4	Æ	7.62	25	↓			1078–1081
9.5	Æ	6.89	25	↑			
9.6	Æ	6.61	25	↑			
9.7	Æ	6.43	24	↑			
9.8	Æ	5.78	25	↘	Overstruck on Anonymous Class G		
9.9	Æ	5.77	25	↓			
9.10	Æ	5.68	28	↑			
9.11	Æ	5.67	27	↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class D		
9.12	Æ	5.60	24	↘			
*9.13	Æ	5.55	23	↓			
9.14	Æ	5.08	23	↙			
9.15	Æ	5.08	28	↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class I		
*9.16	Æ	4.82	26	↘			
*9.17	Æ	4.74	24	↘			
9.18	Æ	4.63	20	↓			
*9.19	Æ	4.51	24	↖			
*9.20	Æ	2.83	26	↓	Overstruck on Anonymous Class I		

9.4–5 Schindler 1960
9.6 Swiss Collection 1956
9.7 Peirce 1948
Illustrated in Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, Pl. 47.3
9.8 Schindler 1960
9.9–10 Swiss Collection 1956
9.11 Schindler 1960
9.12 Swiss Collection 1956
9.13 Peirce 1948 from St. Louis Coin Co.
9.14–15 Whittemore
9.16 Swiss Collection 1956
9.17 Whittemore
9.18 Swiss Collection 1956
9.19 Peirce 1948
9.20 Swiss Collection 1956

NICEPHORUS Bryennius

Pretender October 1077 – April/May 1078

The last six months of Michael VII's reign were troubled by the revolts of two generals named Nicephorus. The successful one was Nicephorus Botaniates, whose early career has already been described.[1] The unsuccessful one was Nicephorus Bryennius, duke of Durazzo, who rebelled against Michael VII in October 1077, assumed the imperial title at Trajanopolis, and rapidly occupied most of Macedonia and Thrace.[2] For a time it looked as if he, rather than his rival Nicephorus Botaniates, would become master of Constantinople and effectively emperor, but the prize went to Botaniates (April 1078). The latter offered Bryennius the title of Caesar, which was refused, whereupon Alexius Comnenus was sent against him. Comnenus was captured and blinded (April or May),[3] but left in possession of his family fortune, and his more famous son and namesake became in due course the husband of Anna Comnena.

Bryennius was no sooner disposed of than yet another Nicephorus, this time Nicephorus Basilacius, revolted in his turn and assumed the imperial title.[4] Basilacius had already played a considerable role in affairs in the concluding months of the preceding reign. He had been sent by Michael VII against Nicephorus Bryennius, and although he was unsuccessful in quelling the revolt, which indeed he made little effort to do, he had occupied Thessalonica and thereby prevented Bryennius from occupying this important base. No sooner had the rebellion of Bryennius collapsed than Basilacius in his turn proclaimed himself emperor at Thessalonica and was in due course besieged by Alexius. After a short siege the city surrendered, Basilacius and his treasure were captured, and on the way back to Constantinople the usurper was blinded on the emperor's orders and disappears from our records. How long his revolt lasted is hard to say, but probably not more than two or three months (May to July?).

Some rare folles exist which can be best attributed to one or other of these rebel Nicephori. They have on the obverse a bust of Christ holding a scroll and on the reverse a patriarchal cross with the letters CBNB in its angles. The general pattern goes back to

[1] Above, p. 821.

[2] Zonaras, xviii. 17. 19–29 (Bonn ed., III. 715–17); Bryennius, iii. 9–10 (Bonn ed., 111–14). Scylitzes Cont. (p. 727) has the revolt follow immediately upon the revolt of Botaniates in October, which is our only indication of the date.

[3] Zonaras, xviii. 18. 2–8 (III. 721–2).

[4] The main authorities for the revolt are Bryennius, iv. 16–28 (pp. 146–56; cf. also pp. 109–10), Scylitzes Cont., pp. 739–40; Zonaras, xviii. 19. 16–20 (Bonn ed., III. 723–4); Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, i. 7–9 (ed. Leib, I. 28–36). Most of these, no doubt in order to avoid confusion, simply call the rebel Basilacius (or Basilaces, Βασιλάκης). It is Scylitzes Cont. and his derivatives Zonaras and Michael Glycas (p. 617) who give his first name as well (Νικηφόρος ὁ Βασιλάκιος).

the coins of Romanus IV with CRPΔ, and it is natural to interpret the first three letters in the same way as Σταυρὲ βοήθει Νικηφόρῳ. But the fourth is ambiguous, for it could equally stand for βασιλεῖ, "the emperor," Βωτανιάτῃ, "Botaniates," Βρυεννίῳ, "Bryennius," or Βασιλακίῳ (or Βασιλάκῃ), "Basilacius." The extreme rarity of the coins, contrasting with the commonness of those of Botaniates himself with CRNΔ in the angles of the cross, suggest that they were not struck by Botaniates, but recorded find-spots—Sparta, Athens[5]—leave either of the others possible.[6] When I published specimens of the type in 1950, I attributed them conjecturally to Bryennius,[7] without considering the possible claims of Basilacius. Hendy[8] has since argued in favor of the latter, mainly on the ground that Basilacius was for some months in possession of Thessalonica, which Bryennius never was, and that Thessalonica was certainly a mint under Alexius I and was, in his view, the mint where the signed coinage of Constantine X and Romanus IV had been struck. Since it is more reasonable to attribute the coins to a mint that we know existed than to one whose existence is conjectural, the coins can be better assigned to Basilacius than to Bryennius.

The weaknesses of this argument are two. The first is the nature of the formula CBNB. The coins are overstruck on older ones, as was normal at this period, and therefore do not represent a method of bringing bullion into circulation; the only object in issuing them would be to serve as propaganda. But coins with CBNB could have no propaganda value in the reign of Nicephorus Botaniates, when they would simply be taken for another issue of this emperor. Under Michael VII, however, they would serve such a purpose, which means that they are more likely to have been issued by Bryennius than by Basilacius. Second, an established mint is capable of producing reasonable uniformity of design, and this is something in which these rare coins, in marked contrast to other folles of the period, are conspicuously deficient. The cross is sometimes on a plain base and step, sometimes on a decorated combination of the two; the intersections and the ends of the cross-arms are sometimes ornamented and sometimes not; and the cross-arms in the nimbus of Christ are sometimes void and at others provided with either a pellet or a ∴ in each. An issue so chaotic can scarcely be the product of a regular mint, whether Constantinople or Thessalonica, and I therefore adhere to my original attribution of them to Bryennius.[9]

So far as the coins themselves are concerned, it would be absurd to make into separate classes, or even to treat as separate types, the varieties that occur. It seems evident that

[5] J. M. Cook and R. V. Nicholls, "Laconia," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 45 (1950), 295, Pl. 29, No. 45; M. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora II. Coins from the Roman Through the Venetian Period* (Princeton, 1954), No. 1861 and note on p. 109.

[6] But exclude Nicephorus Melissenus, yet another would-be emperor of the early 1080's, whose center of operations was Asia Minor. See below, p. 839.

[7] "A Follis of Nicephorus Bryennius (?)," *NC*[6], 10 (1950), 305–11.

[8] *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261* (1969), 78–80. He is followed by Mme Morrisson in *BNC*, II, 662, where the two specimens in the Cabinet des Médailles are published.

[9] In subsequent discussion with me, Hendy has urged that copper coins were not normally used for propaganda and that "the chroniclers' mention of Basilacius' treasure is of significance, if not decisive." I am not sure that his first proposal is correct, and copper folles would scarcely come into the category of χρήματα (Bryennius, iv. 27; p. 155).

the die-sinkers at Bryennius' hastily organized mint were left free to vary such details as they saw fit, and that in consequence each die is likely to differ somewhat from the next. The main division seems to lie in the greater or less elaboration of the patriarchal cross. I have therefore made this the basis of the rough classification which follows and which covers all the varieties—though without listing all the specimens—known to me.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Unidentified Mint		
			FOLLIS		
			No inscription Bust of Christ (Type IX a) facing, bearded, with cross nimbus, wearing tunic and himation; r. hand raised in blessing in sling of cloak, l. holds scroll. In field, IC XC	No inscription Patriarchal cross on base and step; in field above, C B Below, N B	1077/8
			(a) Patriarchal cross simple		
*1a	Æ 12.07	29 ↑	Pellet in each arm of cross. Christ's r. hand obscure, IC and XC not visible	One pellet at end of each upper arm, 3 at end of each lower arm. Overstruck on rev. of Anonymous Class A2	
*(1b)	Æ	27	(Berlin) Same, but lower part of bust off flan, so scroll and r. hand not visible	Same, but 4 pellets at lower intersection of cross. Lower part of type off flan. Overstruck	

1 In the notes that follow, "Grierson" refers to my article of 1950 (above, p. 835 note 7). Wroth and Ratto references are omitted, since the series is not represented in either catalogue. The three coins listed under (a) are in each case the only specimen known to me of the particular variety described. All others come under (b), though, owing to the poor state of preservation of most specimens, it is not always easy to determine the exact variety to which they correspond.

1a Peirce 1948 from Andronicus x. 28

(1b) The appearance of this coin is disconcerting, since neither Christ's right hand nor any object held in his left is visible. The design is not in fact complete, for the circle of the die, cutting the bust off short, is that of the previous striking and not of this coin.

No.	Metal	Wt.	Size	Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*(1c)	Æ	7.98	27	↓	(Athens) Same, but no pellets in nimbus cross and r. hand and scroll not visible through wear	Same, but X at lower intersection of cross. Overstruck on follis of Constantine X and Eudocia	1077/8
					(b) Patriarchal cross elaborate		
*2a	Æ	9.33	27	↑	No pellets in nimbus cross	Each arm of cross ends in 3 pellets, X at lower intersection. Base of cross joined to step by outer lines reaching border of coin, with line of dots above and below step, the lower ones very faint	
*2b	Æ	5.52	25	↓	Pellet in each arm of nimbus cross. Details of bust obscure. Trace of overstriking by Anonymous Class I	Same	

(1c) Published Grierson, p. 307(d). Found at Sparta in 1949 as part of a hoard. Also published in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 45 (1950), 295, Pl. 29, No. 45.

2a Kress sale 8. ii. 65, lot 1134
Illustrated by Hendy, *Coinage and Money*, Pl. 47.4.

2b Grierson 1956 from Baldwin 15. iv. 46
Published Grierson, p. 307(b). I there describe it as overstruck *on* Anonymous Class I (l. arm of cross, with 3 terminal pellets, and part of floral ornament are visible on lower left of obv.), but since the part of the coin where restriking is visible is thinner than the rest, I would now judge Class I to represent the later striking.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
*2c	Æ 10.17	29 ↗	Badly corroded, apparently as a result of having been in a fire, and virtually all details invisible, but traces of ∴ in arms of nimbus cross	Same. Traces of three earlier strikings visible	1077/8

2c Swiss Collection 1956

Published Grierson, p. 307(c). The ∴ in the arms of the nimbus cross are so faint and uncertain that one could not assert their existence on the basis of this coin alone, but they are clear on a specimen in the Garrett Collection (Johns Hopkins University) at Baltimore. The earlier strikings, of which traces can be made out on the rev., are (1) an early Anonymous type (hence the high weight) with a bust of Christ between IC and XC — the IC is visible beyond the lower r. arm of the cross; (2) a follis of Constantine X and Eudocia — the two heads and the top of the labarum are visible bottom l. and the letters ΔK (of ЄVΔKAVΓO) in the margin at bottom r.; and (3) a follis with a large imperial bust, probably Constantine X — the top of the head is visible bottom l.

NICEPHORUS Melissenus

Pretender 1080 – April 1081

Nicephorus Melissenus, a member of one of the great Byzantine families, revolted against Nicephorus III sometime in 1080 and occupied what remained of the Asiatic provinces of the empire.[1] When Alexius Comnenus, whose sister Melissenus had married, in turn revolted in March 1081, Melissenus proposed to him that they should share the purple as joint emperors, Melissenus ruling in Asia and Comnenus in Europe. Alexius replied with the counter-offer of the title of Caesar and the governorship of Thessalonica.[2] Botaniates thereupon proposed to Melissenus, who was encamped at Damalis just across the Bosphorus, that he should abdicate in Melissenus' favor,[3] but Alexius' occupation of the city put an end to this project. Melissenus submitted to the new emperor, received Thessalonica and the promised rank of Caesar,[4] and as a military commander and a member of the imperial family played a moderately important role in the history of Alexius' reign.

The account of Anna Comnena implies that Nicephorus Melissenus did not actually assume the imperial title, but that it was only rumored that he had done so. The testimony of Bryennius and the existence of a silver coin giving him the title of *despotes* are proof to the contrary. Only a single specimen of the coin, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, is known. It was presumably minted at Nicaea, which we know from Bryennius was the pretender's chief residence during his brief period of power.

[1] Bryennius, iv. 31 (pp. 158–9).

[2] *Alexiad*, ii. 8, 10 (ed. Leib, I. 87–90, 92–3).

[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 11 (p. 93).

[4] *Ibid.*, iii. 4 (pp. 113–4); Zonaras, xviii. 21. 11 (Bonn ed., III. 732). The attractiveness of the title of Caesar was reduced by Alexius' ingenuity in creating that of *sebastocrator*, ranking directly after that of *basileus*, for his brother Isaac.

No.	Metal Wt.	Size Die Position	Obverse	Reverse	Date
			Nicaea (?)		
			TWO-THIRDS MILIARESION		
			No inscription Bust of the Virgin facing, orans, nimbate, wearing tunic and maphorion. To l., MP To r., ΘV Single border of dots	[— • — +ΘΚΕΡΘ] ? ΝΙΚ[Η]ΦΡ [Τ]ΩΔΕϹΠΟ ΤΙΤΩΜΕ ΛΙϹΗΝΩ — • — Single border of dots	
*(1)	Æ 1.34 pierced	18 ↗	(Bibliothèque Nationale)		

(1) W. 539, No. 1, Pl. LXIII. 11
This coin was first published by W. H. Waddington, "Nicephore Mélissène, prétendant au trône de Byzance (1080–1081)," *RN*², 8 (1863), 393–400, subsequently by Wroth, and most recently by Mme Morrisson, *BNC*, 663, Pl. XCII/01. Despite its low weight, I assume that, like its predecessors of the same type, it was intended as a two-thirds miliaresion. The inscription reads Θεοτόκε βοήθει Νικηφόρῳ δεσπότῃ τῷ Μελισηνῷ.

INDEX I

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[1] This index includes the names of collections containing coins referred to in the text and footnotes. References to material in the British Museum or the Hermitage, however, which occur on almost every page, are given only when the notes contain information not in either Wroth or Tolstoi.

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INDEX IV

Principal Inscriptions, including Mint-Marks

Byzantine coin inscriptions are often so blundered that no useful purpose would be served by indexing every variety that occurs. Those given here represent the inscriptions in what seem to be their standard forms, taking account of variations of substance but not of haphazard contractions, misspellings, and the like unless they occur repeatedly

and appear to characterize an issue or a mint. Conventional letter forms have in some cases been preferred to those occurring on the coins themselves, since it would be pointless to record the countless variations of, e.g. IhS XPS on eleventh-century coins, and it would be undesirable to create the impression of particular deformations being characteristic of specific reigns where this is not the case. Breaks between words have been normalized for the same reason. Officina letters and other control marks are omitted from solidus inscriptions but are listed in Index V (c) 4. Occasional deviations from a strictly alphabetical order are due to the desirability of keeping closely related inscriptions together.

I have followed the example of Mme Morrisson in the Bibliothèque Nationale catalogue in placing Greek and Latin inscriptions in the same alphabetical sequence, since the distinction between them is not always easy to make and Greek and Latin letters are mixed indiscriminately together. The order of the Latin alphabet has been followed, so that Greek letters are placed in the position of their customary Latin equivalents, with Θ treated as TH, X as CH, and P as R. C and K have been treated as distinct, so that CONST and CVRIE will be found under C when they are spelled in this way.

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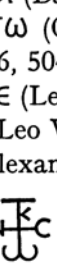
K ω,  (Constantine VII), 191, 539, 540, 570, 573

PO, Ρ, Ρ, , , , R M ω A (Romanus I), 191, 537, 539, 556–7, 570, 571–3

XP (Christopher, son of Romanus I), 191, 539, 571

, (Romanus II), 191, 540, 571, 575, 577

N C I F, (Nicephorus II), 191, 580, 585–6, 588

I Λ ω N, (John I), 191, 596–8

(Basil II), 191, 601, 632–3

C R P Δ (Romanus IV), 788, 796–7

C Φ N Δ (Nicephorus III), 823, 831–2

C B N B (Nicephorus Bryennius), 833–8

Δ (for *despotes*), 788, 795

(for *despotes*), 191, 539, 572

(for *despotou*), 191, 588

(for *despotou*), 191, 598, 601, 632–3

(c) Letters and Symbols, other than Imperial Monograms

Letters and symbols in the field or after inscriptions are much less numerous and important in the eighth and subsequent centuries than they had been in the seventh. For IC XC, MP ΘV, NI KA (and variants), and for names or words partly spelled out in the field (e.g., CTAV, ANNO XX), *see* Index IV.

(1) *In field l.*

✱, on Roman Æ, 322

(2) *In field r.*

A on Ravennate Æ (date), 93, 298, 323

A surmounted by cross (date), on Ravennate Æ, 298, 323

L, on Italian Æ, 282

N, on Italian Æ, 281

R on Roman Æ, 87, 88, 297, 319, 321

B, on Italian Æ, 281–2; on Ravennate Æ (date), 298, 324; on Roman Æ, 88, 297, 319

Γ, on Roman Æ, 88, 297, 319, 321

Δ, on Roman *N*, 88, 297, 319, 321
Z, on *N* of Aistulf (date), 93
H, on *N* of Aistulf (date), 93
Θ, on Ravennate *N*, 239, 279; on Sicilian *N*, 309
I, on Sicilian *N*, 84, 265–7
K, on Neapolitan *N*, 271; on Italian *N*, 280; on Sicilian *N*, 380–1; on Sicilian *Æ*, 374, 385
Λ on Neapolitan *N*, 271; on Sicilian *Æ*, 374, 385; on Sicilian *N*, 380–1
P, on Sicilian solidi, 264
C, on Sicilian *N*, 84, 265–6
+, on Cherson *Æ*, 486
pellet, 304
✱, on Neapolitan *N*, 269–70
✱ on Roman *N*, 88, 273, 275, 276; on Italian *N*, 324

(3) *In field l. and r.*

A and ✱, on Italian *Æ*, 280–1
B and A, on folles (= βασιλεῖς?), 178, 331–2
K and +, on Sicilian *Æ*, 374
L and ✱, on Roman *N*, 88, 272
R and I, on Roman *N*, 87, 88, 297, 320, 321, 327, 335
R and M, on Roman *N*, 87, 88, 273, 275, 297, 318
S and T, on Neapolitan *Æ*, 85
ᴅ and +, on Roman *N*, 88, 275, 277
Γ and ✱, on Roman *N*, 88, 272
Є and ✱, on Roman *N*, 88, 273, 276
I and ᴅ, on Roman *N*, 88, 297, 319, 321; on Neapolitan (?) *N*, 315
I and B, on Roman *N*, 88, 285, 289
I and Δ, on Ravennate *N* (date), 93, 298, 323
I and Є, on Roman *N*, 88, 297, 320, 321; on Ravennate *N* (date), 93, 298, 323
✱/I and ✱/Δ, on Roman *N*, 88, 297, 320, 321
I and Є/✱, on Roman *N*, 88, 275, 277
C and I, on Sicilian *N*, 84, 374; on Sicilian *Æ*, 384–5
✱ and R, on Roman *N*, 87, 88, 274, 276, 317–18
✱ and A, on Roman *N*, 88, 274, 276
✱ and B, on Roman *N*, 88, 274, 276
✱ and Γ, on Roman *N*, 88, 274, 276
✱ and Δ, on Roman *N*, 88, 272, 274, 276
✱ and Є/✱, on Roman *N*, 88, 274, 276
✱ and Z, on Roman *N*, 88, 274, 277
✱ and H, on Roman *N*, 88, 274, 277
✱ and Θ, on Roman *N*, 88, 275, 277
✱ and I, on Roman *N*, 88, 275, 277
✱ and ✱, on Roman *N*, 88, 273, 275, 276, 278, 285, 288–9; on Neapolitan (?) *N*, 315–16
✱ and ✱, on Italian *N*, 88, 324

(4) After Inscriptions

This list includes the officina and control marks on eighth-and ninth-century coins, whose occurrence is much less regular than had been the case in earlier centuries. It does not include the terminal letters of blundered inscriptions, which are unlikely to have been functional in character, or abbreviation marks (usually ʹ or ˢ).

A or A, 241, 243, 245, 286, 287, 300, 429, 461–2
B, 241, 243; B, 301, 395; b, 243; b, 287
Γ, 243
Δ, 245, 246, 251; ΔC, 242
Є, 241, 246, 251, 355–6, 366, 375, 394, 395, 424, 427–8, 449, 450
S, 241, 246, 248

Z, 243, 244, 246; ZC, 242
H, 241–2, 243, 246
Θ, 242, 244, 246, 286, 287, 299 (ΘC), 300–1, 328, 341–2, 356, 426–7, 429
⊕, 349, 355
I, 242, 243, 246
Λ, 376, 425, 426
Π, 272
C, 242, 299, 450
Φ, 301
X, 349, 355, 356, 366, 375, 376, 394, 425, 426, 449
✱, 264, 272 n.
∴, 269, 272 n.
N̲, 299; preceding inscription, 245

(5) *Elsewhere*

A, officina letter beneath mark of value, 80, 254–63, 303–7, 316, 331–2, 344–6, 350, 357–8, 377–8
B, similar, 80, 255, 256, 260, 262, 263, 304
Γ, similar, 80, 254, 256
Θ, beneath M, 80, 388, 389, 398–9, 403–5, 421, 433–4, 448–9, 468–9
Λ, in exergue, 314
☧, on labarum, 134; on shield, 190, 254

(d) Decorative or Privy Marks

New categories of symbols came into use in the tenth and eleventh centuries, to some extent replacing the old varieties of letters and symbols that had disappeared. Some may have been purely decorative, others were almost certainly functional. The following indices cover the main categories, apart from the varying designs of the labarum (∴, ⁝⁝, etc.), which are set out in tabular form, under reigns, on pp. 136–7.

(1) Above and Beneath Inscriptions across Field

The signs above the inscriptions often consist of, or include, one or two marks of abbreviation, but since the distinction between the slightly pear-shaped ornamental marks and the bar-like abbreviation marks is not always clear, no distinction is made here between them.

(a) On silver coins

Nothing above, — ∴ — beneath, 631
— above, — — beneath, 753, 773
— above, · · · beneath, 773, 793
— above, — · — beneath, 793, 813
— and · · above, — · — beneath, 794
— and — — above, — X — beneath, 794
— · — above and beneath, 630, 811, 840
— · — above, — — beneath, 816
— — — above, — · — beneath, 758, 771–2
— — — above, — — beneath, 747
· — · above, — · — beneath, 773
— + — above and beneath, 590, 598, 629
— + — above, — · — beneath, 810–11, 816, 829
— + — above, — — beneath, 763, 815, 817
— ∴ — above and beneath, 590, 598, 627–9, 630
— ⁝ — above and beneath, 537, 556–7, 585–6, 590, 596–7, 629, 630
— ⁝ — above and beneath, 629, 630
— ⊙ — above and beneath, 611, 632
— ✱ — above and beneath, 629
— · ✱ · — above and beneath, 629
· ∴ · above and beneath, 629
⊣ ∴ ⊢ above and beneath, 631
∴ — ∴ above, ∴ ∴ beneath, 747

(b) On copper coins

Nothing above, pellet beneath, 645, 651–2, 658
Nothing above, + beneath, 484, 498
Nothing above, ✱ beneath, 484, 488–520
Pellet above, nothing beneath, 645, 652
Pellet above, pellet beneath, 645, 646, 652, 661
Cross above and beneath, 645, 646, 663–4
— + — above and beneath, 645, 674, 690
— + — above, — ◡ — beneath, 685–9
— ⊕ — above, — ◡ — beneath, 687
— above and beneath, 645, 652
— — above and beneath, 645, 653
— · — above and beneath, 645, 653
— ∴ — above and beneath, 645, 653, 673, 675
— ⁝ — above and beneath, 645, 661
∴ above and beneath, 645, 653
· ∴ · above and beneath, 645, 662
· ⁝ · above and beneath, 645, 662
— ✱ — above and beneath, 645, 646, 655, 658, 664
— ◇ — above and beneath, 645, 647, 658, 665, 668–9, 675
— ◇ above and beneath, 645, 662
— ◈ — above and beneath, 645, 646, 656
— ⊙ — above and beneath, 645, 658–9
— A — above and beneath, 645, 646, 656, 669
— · A · — above and beneath, 645, 646, 656
— R — above and beneath, 645, 657
— Γ — above and beneath, 645, 646, 665
— h — above and beneath, 645, 657
— Λ — above and beneath, 645, 646, 656
— · Λ · — above and beneath, 645, 657
— P — above and beneath, 645, 657
— C — above and beneath, 645, 670
— ◡ — above and beneath, 645, 658
— · ◠ · — above and beneath, 645, 663
— ∽ — above and beneath, 645, 673–4
· ↑ · above and beneath, 645, 663
— ⊕ — above and beneath, 645, 647, 664, 671
— ›X‹ — above and beneath, 645, 665
— Φ — above and beneath, 645, 670
· Φ · above and beneath, 645, 646, 664
⧺ (?) above and beneath, 645, 646, 653
⧺ above and beneath, 645, 654
— ∩∪∩ — above and beneath, 645, 650
□ above and beneath, 645, 671–2
⊂⊃ above and beneath, 645, 650, 656, 659–60, 664, 670
above, beneath, 645, 661, 665–8, 674, 675

(2) In Arms of Christ's Nimbus-Cross

This does not include simple pellets whose number (one, two, or three) seem to have usually depended on the space available. It does include the few signs which occur in or on the nimbus, but not in the cross arms.

⊙ 616
▣ 615
·|· 617; with pellet in each quarter of cross, 617
∴ 664, 674
⁝ 617
∷ 618, 664–7, 700–1 (no nimbus), 805–6; with pellet in each upper quarter, 680–1
⁝· 667–8, 724–6, 804–6; ⁝· in upper arm, · · in side ones, 673
⁝ 618, 619–20, 623
✱ 675
+ 663–4
※ 669–70
× 670
□ 671–2; with pellet in each upper quarter, 676–80

o 671; o in upper arm, ·· in side ones, 673–4; in each upper quarter, 621–2, 708–9, 740–1
Bar, 614
Wedge, 615, 622
3 pellets on rim of nimbus, 614–5
double lines to cross, 615, 617, 618; to nimbus, 617, 618, 619, 623

(3) On Cover of Gospel Book Held by Christ

The book decorations form two groups, one consisting of simple ornaments, the other of ornaments surrounded by a dotted border. The book accompanying the Pantocrator bust (Type VIII) has invariably a dotted border, with either no pellets, one pellet, or two pellets in the central space. These varieties are not listed here, since the form in each instance seems to depend on the space left available by the thumb extending across the cover and has otherwise no meaning. The others are given in the following list.

⁝⁝⁝ 796–7, 806, 817–18, 819–20, 824
Eight pellets in two rows 463–4
∴ 671–2, 676–80, 685–90, 694–9, 702–4, 715–18, 738–40, 750–3, 762, 767–8, 774–6, 783–4, 794, 816, 825–9, 831–2; in dotted border, 661, 667
487–9, 524–5, 542–48
513–14, 549, 551–2, 576–7, 661–2
761, 762; in dotted border, 668
670
777–8, 794, 804–5, 818–19, 820
662, 668–9, 670
+ 663–4
or 648–661, 681–4, 742, 744–5, 763, and all coins with Pantocrator bust, *for which see* Index III, *s.v.* Christ, bust of (Class VIII)

PLATES

BASIL I (1)

Constantinople (N, Æ, Æ)

N 1

2a.1

2a.2

2b.4

2b.5

2c.2

2c.5

3.2

3.4

(4)

(5)

6

Æ 7.2

7.4

7.10

7.13

7.14

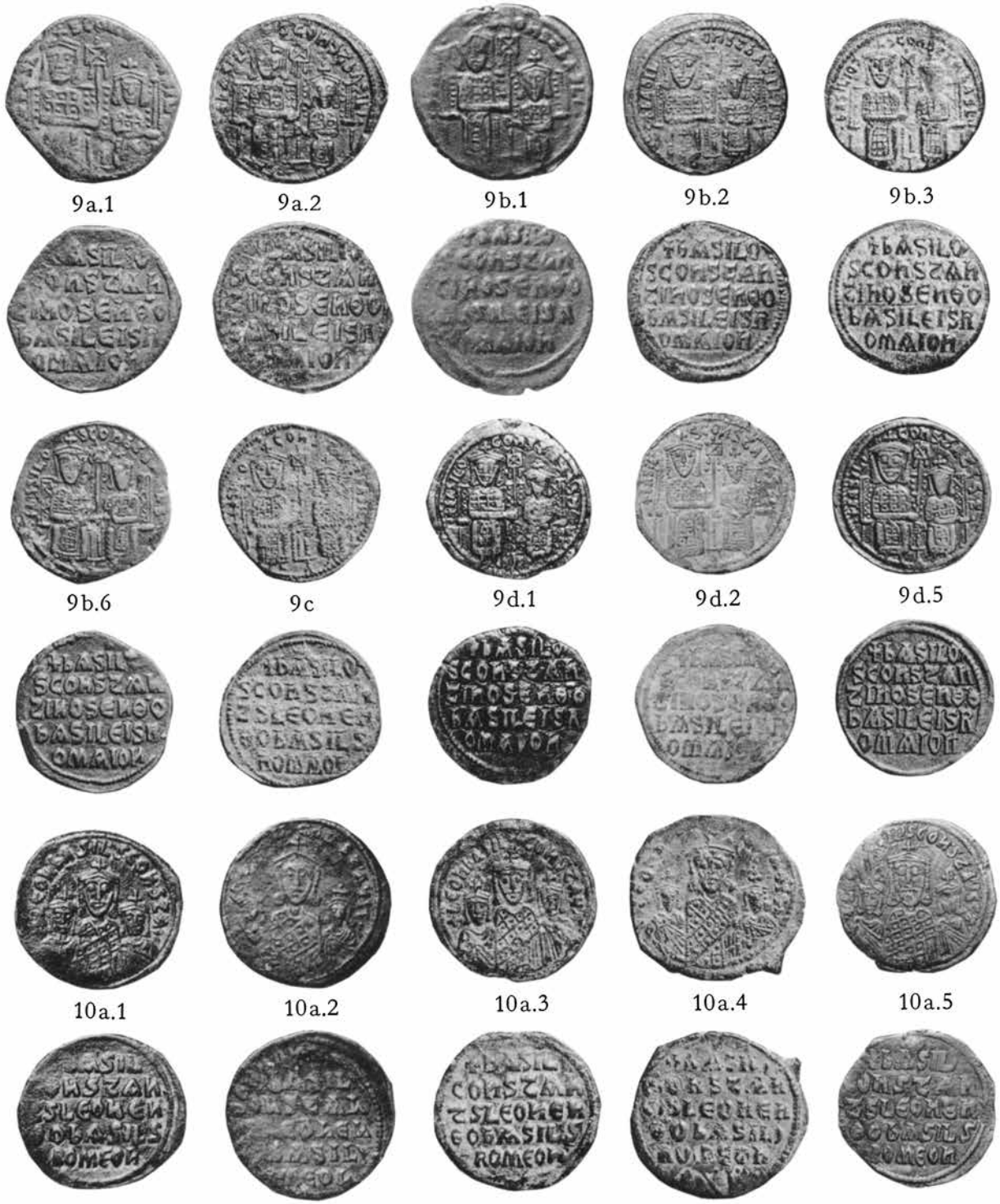
7.16

Æ 8a.2

8a.3

BASIL I (2)

Constantinople (Æ)



9a.1 9a.2 9b.1 9b.2 9b.3

9b.6 9c 9d.1 9d.2 9d.5

10a.1 10a.2 10a.3 10a.4 10a.5

BASIL I (3)

Constantinople (Æ)

10a.7 10a.8 10b.2 10c.1 10c.2

10d.2 10d.3 10e.1 10e.2 11.1

11.2 11.10 11.12 11.16 11.17

BASIL I (4)

Constantinople (Æ)

12.1 12.5 12.6 13a.1 13a.2

13a.3 13a.4 13b.1 13b.2 14a 15 (16)

Syracuse (Base *N*)

Cherson (Æ)

17a.2 17a.3 17c 18 19.1 20a.3 20a.9

20b.1 20b.2 20b.3

LEO VI (1)

Constantinople (N, Æ, Æ)

LEO VI (2)

Constantinople (Æ)

8.17 8.23 8.32 8.40 8.46

Cherson (Æ)

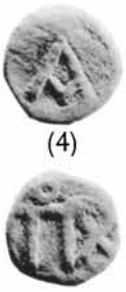
9.1 10.1 10.2 11 12.1 12.2 12.3

ALEXANDER

Constantinople (N, Æ)

N 1 2.1 2.2 Æ 3

Cherson (Æ)



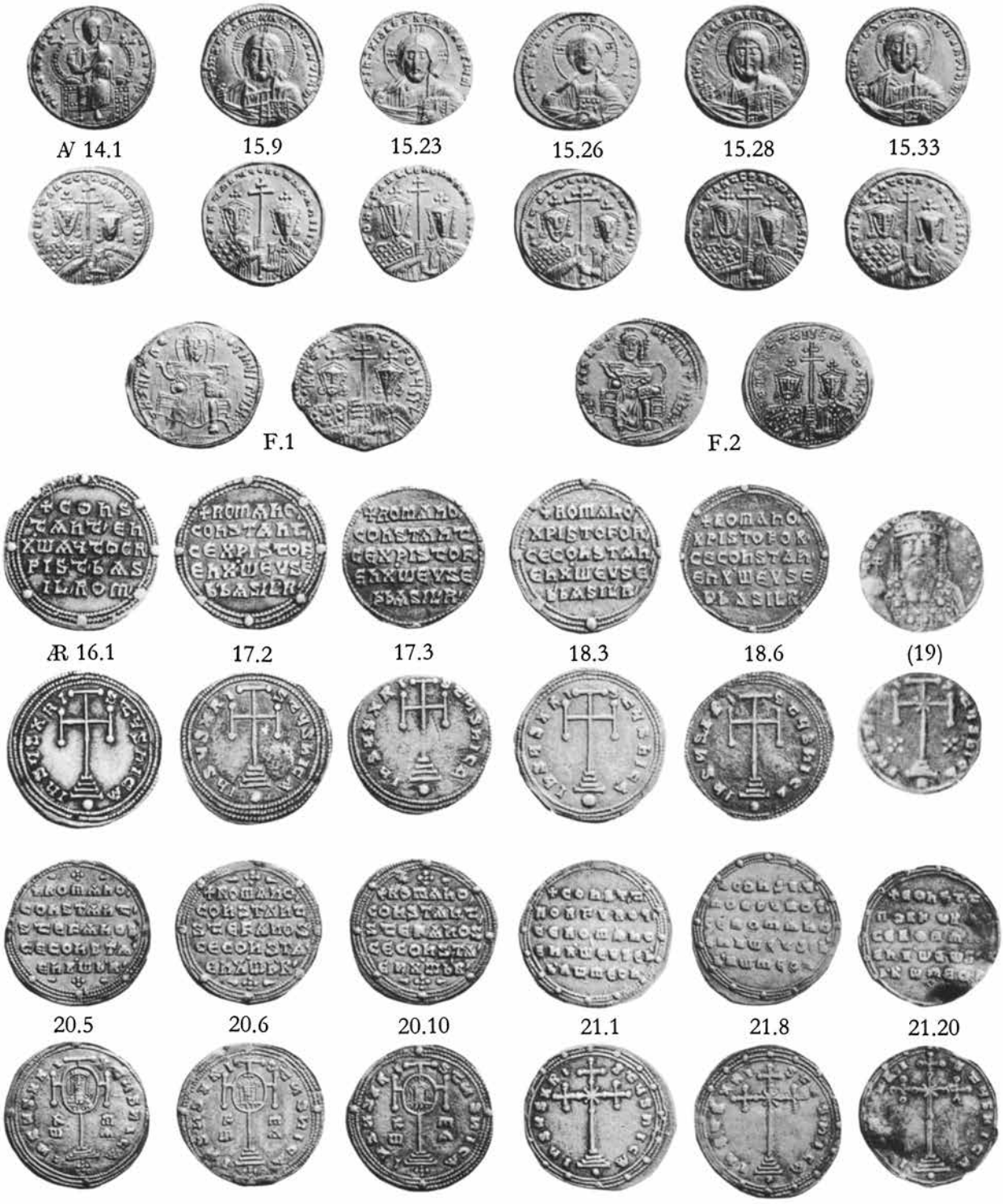
(4)

CONSTANTINE VII AND COLLEAGUES (1)

CONSTANTINOPLE (*A*)

CONSTANTINE VII AND COLLEAGUES (2)

CONSTANTINOPLE (*A*, *Æ*)



CONSTANTINE VII AND COLLEAGUES (3)

CONSTANTINOPLE (Æ)

22.2

22.3

22.6

22.8

22.14

22.21

23.1

23.2

23.5

23.6

(24)

25a.4

25a.10

25a.11

25a.16

25b.8

CONSTANTINE VII AND COLLEAGUES (4)

CONSTANTINOPLE (Æ)

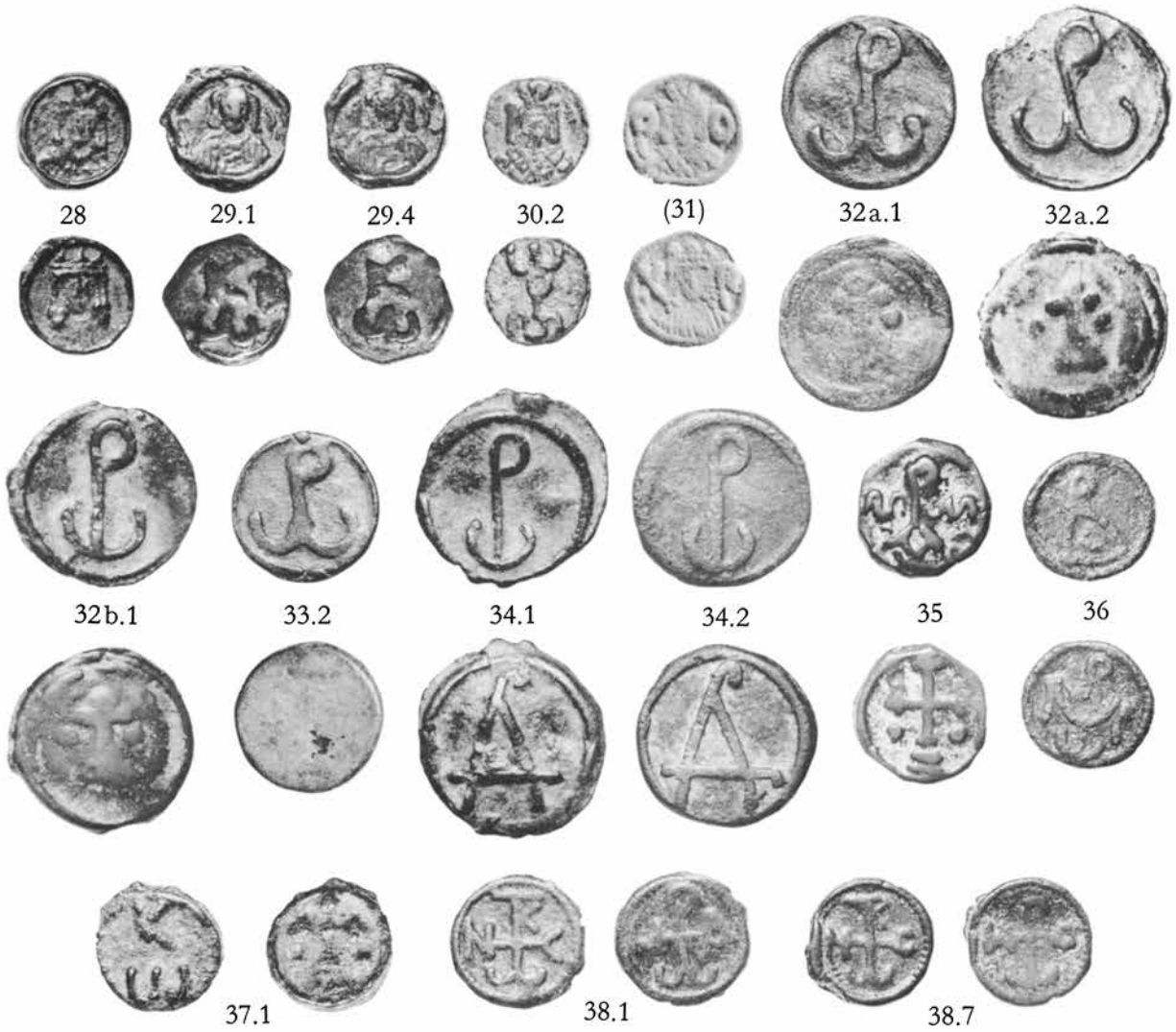
25b.9 25b.12 25b.18 25b.19 25b.22

26.1 26.5 26.8 26.14 26.17

27.1 27.2 27.4 27.6 27.8

CONSTANTINE VII AND COLLEAGUES (5)

CHERSON (Æ)



ROMANUS II

CONSTANTINOPLE (Ꝗ)

CHERSON (Æ)

NICEPHORUS II

Constantinople (N, Æ, Æ)

N 1.1 1.2 2.1 3 4.1 4.2

4.7 4.10 5.1 5.2 5.3 5.4

Æ 6.1 6.12 Æ 7.2 7.14 8.1

8.6 8.8

Cherson (Æ)

9

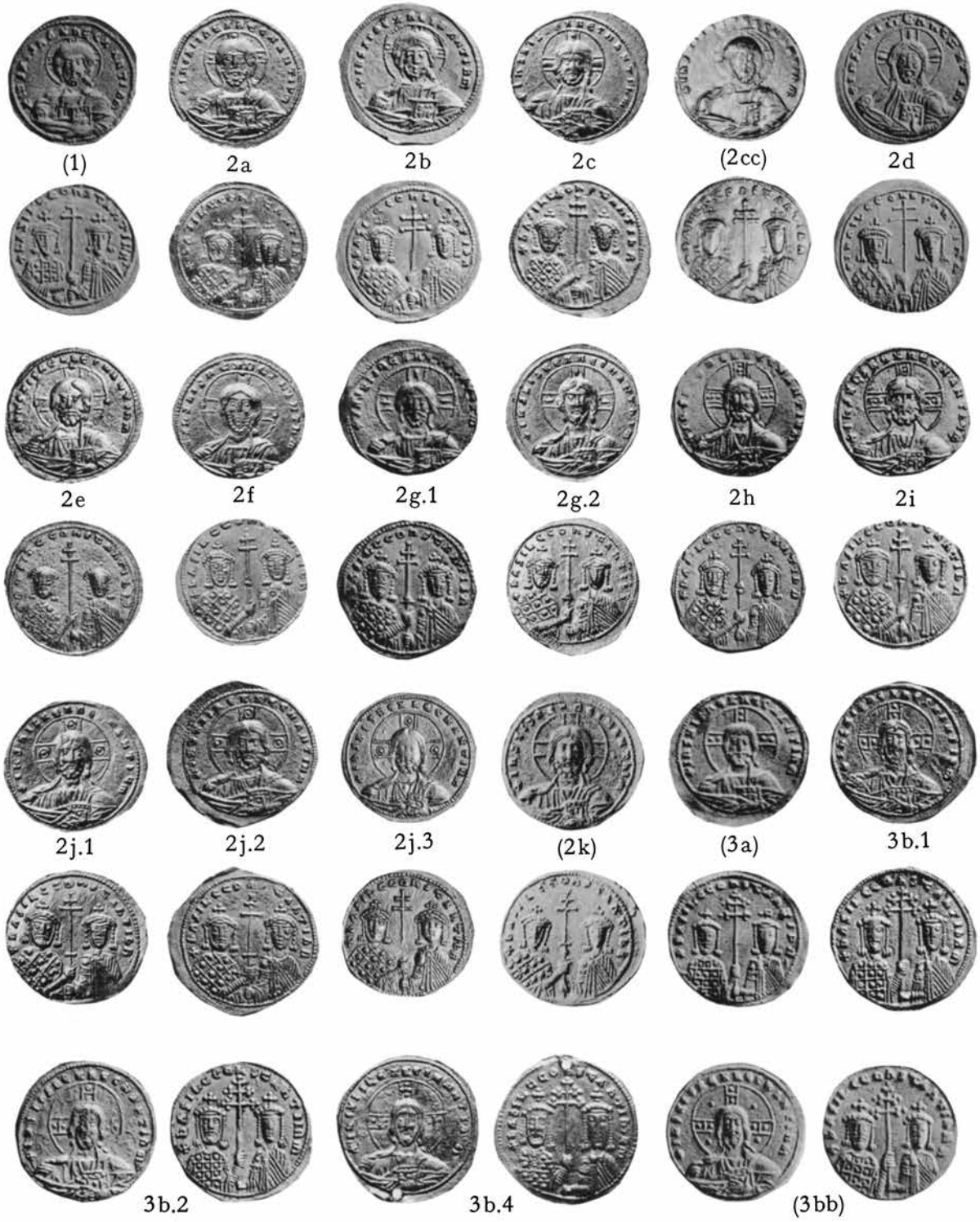
JOHN I

Constantinople (N, Æ)

Cherson (Æ)

BASIL II (1)

CONSTANTINOPLE (*A*)



BASIL II (2)

Constantinople (*A*)

BASIL II (3)

Constantinople (*A*)

BASIL II (4)

Constantinople (Æ)

16

17a.1

17a.2

17a.3

17a.4

17a.5

17b.1

17b.2

17b.3

17b.4

17b.5

17c

18a.1

18a.2

(18b)

18d.1

18d.2

18e

BASIL II (5)

Constantinople (Æ)

19.1

19.2

19.3

19.4

20a

20b

20c.1

20c.2

20d

20e

Cherson (Æ)

21a

21b.1

21b.2

ANONYMOUS FOLLES, CLASS A (1)

Class A 1

Class A 2

ANONYMOUS FOLLES, CLASS A (2)

Class A 2

A2.3.4

A2.3.7

A2.3.9

A2.3.12

A2.4

A2.5.1

A2.5.2

A2.6

A2.7.1

A2.8

ANONYMOUS FOLLES, CLASS A (3)

Class A 2

A2.9

A2.11.2

A2.11.3

A2.11.4

A2.12.2

A2.14.3

A2.14.4

A2.14a

A2.16.1

A2.16a.2

ANONYMOUS FOLLES, CLASS A (4)

Class A 2

A2.17

A2.18.2

A2.19a

A2.20

A2.21

A2.23.1

A2.24.3

A2.24.21

A2.24.25

A2.24a.1

A2.24a.4

ANONYMOUS FOLLES, CLASS A (5)

Class A 2

A2.24b

A2.25.1

A2.25.2

A2.26.1

A2.26.6

A2.27.2

A2.31.1

A2.32.1

A2.32.10

A2.32a

ANONYMOUS FOLLES, CLASS A (6)

Class A 2

A2.36.1

A2.36.2

A2.39.4

A2.39.6

A2.40.7

A2.40.18

A2.40a.1

A2.40a.2

A2.40b.1

A2.40b.2

A2.41.4

A2.41.5

ANONYMOUS FOLLES, CLASS A (7)

Class A 2

ANONYMOUS FOLLES, CLASSES A (8), B

Class A 2 Imitations

A2.52.1

A2.52.2

A2.52.3

A2.52.5

A2.52.6

Class B

B.8

B.18

B.40

B.48

B.64

Class B Imitations

Ba

Bb.1

Bb.2

Bb.3

Bb.5

CONSTANTINE VIII

ROMANUS III (1)

ROMANUS III (2)

Ꝗ 2.1 | 2.2 | Æ 3a.1 | 3a.3 | 3a.4

MICHAEL IV (1)

Ꝗ 1a.3 | 1a.5 | 1b.2 | 1b.5 | 1c.1

1c.3 | 1d.1 | 1d.4 | 1e.2 | 1f

MICHAEL IV (2)

THESSALONICA

Ꝗ 2

ZOE

Æ (1)

2

ZOE AND THEODORA

Ꝗ 1

CONSTANTINE IX (1)

Ꝗ 1a.1

1a.2

(1b)

2a.1

2a.4

2b.1

2c

3.2

3.8

3.17

CONSTANTINE IX (2)

Ꝑ 4a.1

4a.2

4a.3

4b

4c

5a.3

5a.4

5a.9

5b.1

5b.2

6.2

6.4

Æ 7a.1

7a.3

7a.5

7b.2

7b.3

8a.1

8a.4

ANONYMOUS FOLLES, CLASSES C, D

Class C

C.2

C.9

C.16

C.26

C.29

C.39

C.46

Class D

D.20

D.23

D.24

D.34

Da

ANONYMOUS FOLLES, CLASSES E–G

Class E

E.3 E.4 E.5 E.6 Ea

Class F

F.1 F.12

Class G

G.6 G.7 G.10 G.12 G.17

THEODORA

MICHAEL VI

ISAAC I

CONSTANTINE X (1)

CONSTANTINE X (2)

EUDOCIA

Ν 1.2

1.3

(2)

ROMANUS IV

Ν 1.1

1.2

2.1

2.4

3.11

Æ 5a.1

5a.2

5b.1

6a

6b

7.1

7.2

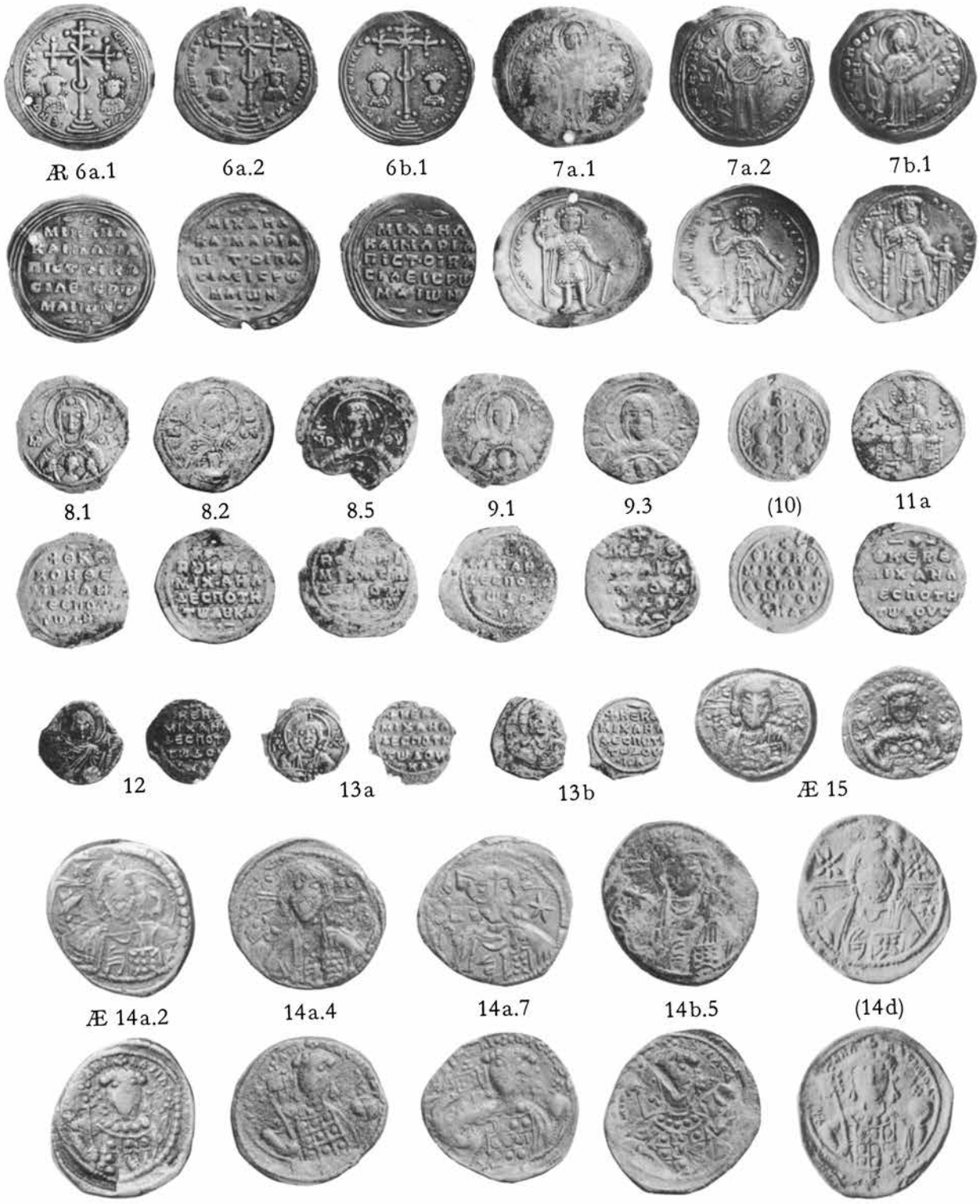
8.16

Æ 8.4

8.10

MICHAEL VII (1)

MICHAEL VII (2)



ANONYMOUS FOLLES, CLASSES H–M

Class H

H.5

H.7

Class I

I.2

I.15

I.19

I.51

I.58

Class J

J.3

J.9

Class K

K.10

K.17

K.22

Class L

L.1

Class M

M.1

NICEPHORUS III (1)

NICEPHORUS III (2) AND RIVALS

NICEPHORUS III

Æ 9.2 9.13 9.16 9.17 9.19 9.20

NICEPHORUS BRYENNIUS

Æ 1a (1b) (1c) 2a 2b

2c

NICEPHORUS MELISSENUS

Æ (1)

ANONYMOUS FOLLES, CLASS N

Æ N.1